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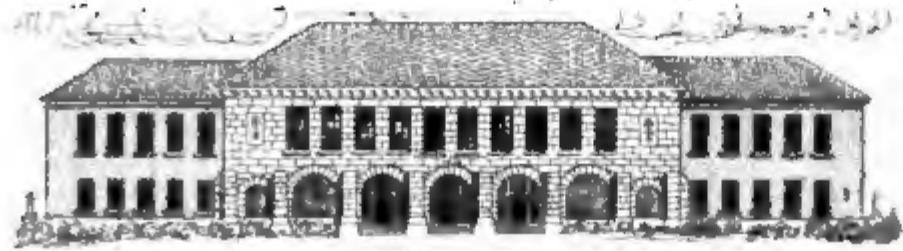
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C. A. Durriway
ESSENTIALS IN HISTORY

**ESSENTIALS
IN
ENGLISH HISTORY**

(FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO
THE PRESENT DAY)

BY
ALBERT PERRY WALKER, A.M.
MASTER IN THE ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON

IN CONSULTATION WITH
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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ESSENTIALS IN HISTORY

A SERIES PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ESSENTIALS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

By ARTHUR MAYER WOLFSON, PH.D.

**ESSENTIALS IN MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN
HISTORY**

By SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH.D.

ESSENTIALS IN ENGLISH HISTORY

By ALBERT PERRY WALKER, A.M.

ESSENTIALS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.

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ESSEN. ENG. HIST.

W. P. 3.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THIS is the third of the series of *Essentials* in History, designed for use in secondary schools, and arranged on the system recommended in the Report on the Study of History in Schools by the Committee of the American Historical Association. Dr. Wolfson's book, *Essentials in Ancient History*, describes the origins of civilization in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the bloom of Greece, the rise of Rome, the spread of Hellenic civilization, and the decay of the Roman Empire. Professor Harding's volume follows with the later mediæval and modern European history, from about 800 A.D. to the present time. This present volume is a consecutive account of English history. The fourth and final volume treats of American history.

The title "Essentials" suggests that the authors of all the volumes have addressed themselves to the things which have really been significant and vital in the development of western civilization. Personalities and events, however striking in themselves, which have not had a clear and definite effect in the movement of the world, are omitted, in order that in the brief space available the essentials may be more clearly presented.

It is the plan of the whole series to give a maximum amount of space to the text, and to reduce the pedagogic apparatus to small dimensions, depending upon the teacher to secure a knowledge of the text, and to bring out its significance in class work. Each volume is divided into a number of chapters corresponding nearly to the number of weeks in a school year. The texts are continuous, although the numbered sectional headings in the margin show the progress of thought and the chronological sequence. Each author has in a few prefatory pages indicated how he thinks his book may best be used; and all are alike in adding to each chapter a brief bibliography referring to "Geography," "Secondary authorities," "Sources," and "Illustrative works," intended to be a quick and easy way of referring pupils to such additional readings as the teacher may think satisfactory. Each chapter is also furnished with two lists of topics: the first, or "Suggestive topics," are related pretty closely to the

text and to the ordinary handbooks almost everywhere accessible, the second, or "Search topics," expect a search into a wider range of authorities, including sources. The appendix matter has been made brief; it consists of a few documents actually necessary to make clear the allusions and discussions of the text.

Besides the chapter bibliographies, Appendix A is a "Brief List of Books," which is intended for the teacher's desk and for constant consultation by the pupils. Such a list, costing about twenty-five dollars, will greatly add both to the soundness and to the interest of the course. In the chapter bibliographies the first references are commonly to some of these specially indicated works. For schools or individuals who possess or have access to a larger library, a "General Bibliography" of the most important books upon the subject of the volume will be found appended, including the titles of most of the books mentioned in the chapter bibliographies. Such a list will be serviceable for making purchases to fill up a school or town library, and the books which ought first to be procured are denoted by an asterisk.

As to the use of the volume on English history, Mr. Walker has made his own suggestions. A good teacher will always keep in mind the necessity of careful study of the text-book, as the repository of facts and principles necessary for the pupil to know. In order to train pupils to analyze and get the real meaning out of what they study, at the end of each chapter is a brief "Summary," which is not a mere recapitulation of the previous sections, but a succinct statement of the whole ground covered by the chapter.

Every good school course ought to include some parallel reading from sources or from good secondary books; and such outside reading is easily directed through the chapter bibliographies, which refer to a variety both of sources and of later writers.

Throughout the series maps are plentiful. It is expected that teachers will insist on the location of the places mentioned in the text, and, further, that they will make clear the geographical relief so far as it plays a part in history.

Many schools require written work of some kind, and the teachers will find hints for such work in the special books on the subject mentioned in Appendix A. For beginners topics must be such as may be simply and easily answered out of a small number of available books; so far as possible sources should be used, because of their suggestiveness and spirit; and such work ought to be an adjunct, and not the staple of a pupil's work.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE AUTHOR TO THE TEACHER

THE first five sections of this book (pp. 11-13) suggest broadly on what a pupil making a first survey of English history should be led to focus his thought; namely, on the great movements by which ancient England has become modern England, and on the forces which have given rise to these movements. In this book, therefore, emphasis is laid on (1) the fusing of several races into the English people; (2) the successful working out by that people of two great problems in government,—that of self-government under free democratic forms and that of governing remote dependencies; (3) the exploitation of two great fields of industry, manufacturing and commerce; and (4) the effect of race tendencies in promoting social and intellectual progress. At the same time the author has taken pains not to distort the student's perspective of events by a too brief treatment of dramatic but comparatively resultless episodes, like the Roman occupation of Britain, or the Hundred Years' War.

The teacher should make sure at the outset that the opening survey of the field conveys clear ideas to the pupil, and should lead him to refer to it at every stage in the study. Throughout the book the account of events is approximately chronological, but social conditions, which change but slowly, are discussed in special chapters at suitable intervals. Events are grouped under reigns until the period when monarchs no longer molded the history of their times. Within the chapters strict chronological sequence has been deemed less important than unity in the treatment of a given subject.

The subdivision into thirty-eight chapters makes possible the assignment of one chapter a week for a school year; but the author has found it much more profitable to cover the whole field more rapidly, and then, by way of review, to have the pupils trace specific classes of subjects (war, taxation, political changes, industry, literature) continuously through the whole course of English history. Thus the pupil is compelled to separate from the mass of facts those which relate to his particular subject; to review over and over the sequence

THE AUTHOR TO THE TEACHER

of dynasties, periods, and significant epochs; and to break away from the tyranny of the printed page and construct his own narrative.

Great pains has been taken to make the maps adequately illustrate the text, but their study should be supplemented by constant practice in locating places and lines upon outline maps, and by any other methods that will tend to correlate geography and history. The illustrations are almost without exception views of real objects, chosen for their historic interest and suggestiveness. They should be made the subject of discussion in the class.

The suggestive topics at the ends of the several chapters are designed to make the pupil reflect upon the facts that he has learned, and to suggest profitable exercises in comparison and in the study of causal relations. The search topics have been utilized to point the way to additional information, and no question or topic has been inserted merely as a puzzle. The bibliographies aim to call attention to books of two classes: (1) for the pupil, readable accounts by trustworthy historians, and source material to illustrate these accounts; (2) for the teacher, certain exhaustive and standard works suited to the mature student. In the use of source books, teachers should not require too much work or expect too many tangible results. These books are mines of illustrative, not of structural, materials. The wise method is to assign to each pupil only a single reference to look up at one time, a single topic to investigate. The list of illustrative works ranges from the slight works of Henty (which have been included because experience proves that through them many pupils of immature age gain an increased interest in history) to the great literary masterpieces of Shakespeare, Scott, Thackeray, and Tennyson.

To sum up, this book aims to present to students of high school age such information regarding English history as can be assimilated in a single year; information selected for its power to enrich and to discipline the mind, and so treated as to aid the teacher in accomplishing this result.

My thanks are due to Mr. Hyman Askovith for valuable assistance in preparing the chapter bibliographies.

ALBERT PERRY WALKER.

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ESSENTIALS IN ENGLISH HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

COURSE AND CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

(A) THE CHIEF MOVEMENTS IN ENGLISH HISTORY

BEFORE a student undertakes to study the history of any country in detail, he will do well to take a brief survey of the great movements by which its progress has been marked. He will thus perceive clearly the road he is to traverse, and will be less likely to lose his bearings and become confused among the innumerable minor events which have contributed to or have accompanied these primary movements. Such a survey of English history shows that the British Isles have formed the theater for the development of four successive invading peoples, each of which brought with it from the neighboring "Continent" of Europe a different type of civilization, and each of which has left upon the life of the islands some distinctive impress.

(1) Some centuries before the Christian era, the Celts (or Kelts) brought to the island of Great Britain their primitive form of civilization. About the beginning of that era these Celts were conquered, though not extinguished, by invaders from the Continent, the imperial Romans. The newcomers, during four centuries of control over Britain, failed to impart to its people any of the political vigor which Rome had in her prime; and when disorders in Italy finally forced them to abandon the island, early in the fifth century A.D., they left it but little advanced in political or social development.

12 COURSE AND CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

(2) The territory thus relinquished was soon seized upon by a group of Teutonic peoples from the north of Europe, the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. These races, although still semi-barbarous, soon showed a remarkable instinct for creating social and political institutions. They promptly changed their government from the tribal to the monarchical form in order to meet their new conditions; they changed their roving habits and developed a strong love of the soil where they had taken root; and, above all, they showed an intense conservatism,—a quality which gave permanence to every successive improvement which they wove into the fabric of their civilization.

(3) These early comers were disciplined into a rude semblance of nationality and order by six centuries of strife with their Celtic predecessors, with one another, and with their fierce rivals the Danes, a body of their kinspeople whose migration to Britain was deferred too late to give them an equal chance in the struggle.

(4) The Anglo-Saxons and Danes in their turn suffered invasion and conquest at the hands of a limited body of Normans (1066). This hardy people, although of the same stock as the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, were by nature more enterprising; and, because of their more fortunate location upon the western coast of the Continent, had made greater progress in political and social life, and in all the arts and industries by which civilization is advanced.

During the following two hundred and fifty years, these four elements, Celt, Saxon, Dane, and Norman, gradually became welded into unity, and worked out an efficient political system. Such a development was aided by their isolation from the Continent; but the monarchs of England failed to realize the strength of their insular position, and tried again and again, though vainly, to unite the territories of France and England into a single state.

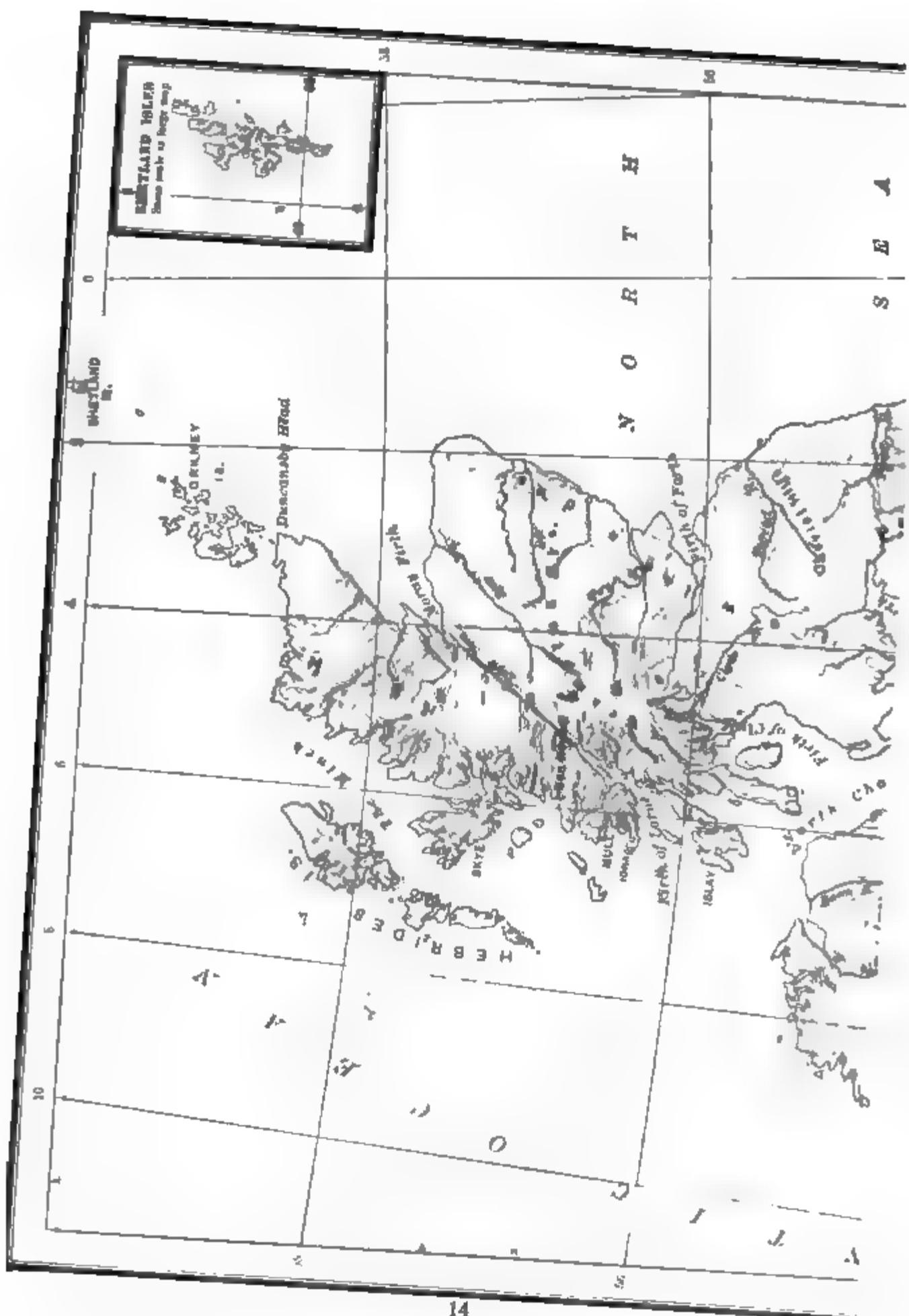
The beginning of the Modern Era, marked by the discoveries of Columbus and others, found the unified English people ready to enter into a contest of European nations for the domination of the greater world then revealed. They won rich territories and fame abroad, at the same time that they perfected their political system at home. Meanwhile England united to herself three lesser units, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and laid the foundations of a vast colonial empire.

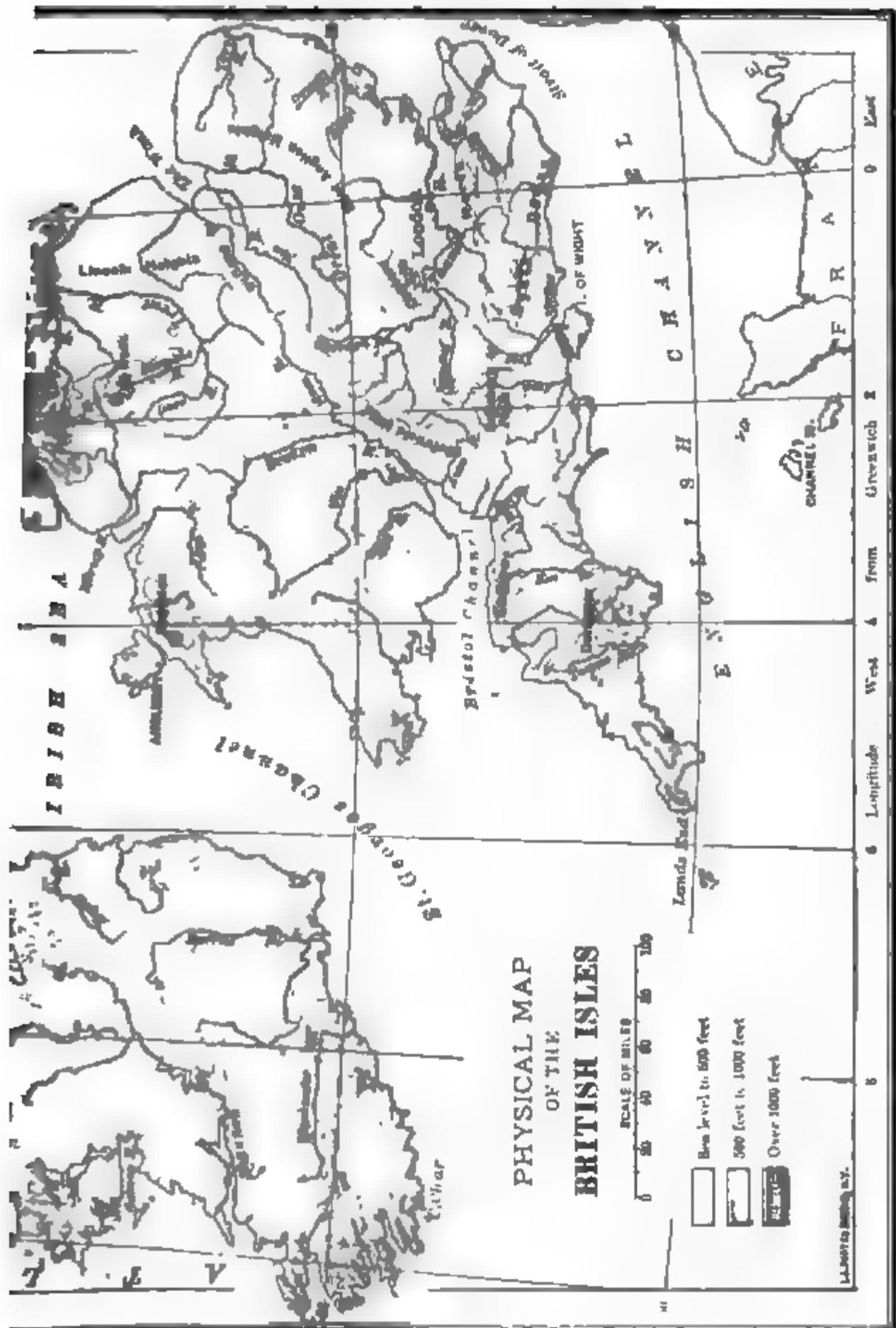
Finally, by defeating Napoleon's ambitious schemes, Great Britain won a leading place among the half dozen Great Powers which thenceforth were to control the old world, and with the nineteenth century entered upon a career of industrial and commercial expansion paralleled only by that of her emancipated offspring, the United States of America.¹

From the time of the Roman occupation onward, the inhabitants of southern and eastern England won their living by tilling the rich soil of the valleys and plains. A little later, sheep grazing on moorlands and hillsides enriched them with wool, their chief article of export in the early commercial period. The growth of commerce fostered a spirit of enterprise which soon made England mistress of the seas, and a vast fishing industry added to her sources of wealth; while seaport towns — such as Bristol, Chester, Plymouth, Yarmouth, and Portsmouth (map, p. 385) — grew up at the mouth of every navigable stream. Then, when modern invention made it possible to harness the forces of nature for the service of man, the center of population and of industrial activity shifted to the mountainous northwest, whose water power, fuel, mineral deposits, and lumber were then first available.

5. Eng-
land's in-
dustrial de-
velopment

¹ The changes here outlined suggest a word of warning in regard to the use of names. As a geographical expression, "Great Britain," or "Britain," means the largest of the British Isles; politically, "Great Britain" means the United Kingdom which has existed since 1707 and now occupies all the isles. "England" may mean (1) the region south of Scotland and east of Wales; (2) the parent kingdom of the British Empire; (3) when used for brevity, the empire itself.





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(B) INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL CONDITIONS ON ENGLISH HISTORY

Many of the before-mentioned changes have resulted in part from physical conditions, such as land surface, climate, and location. "Geography explains history," and a preliminary study of some of these conditions is therefore necessary.

The theater of the development of the English nation is a group of about five thousand islands, of which two are much larger than the rest. The area of the entire group is about 121,000 square miles — or nearly that of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. Of this area, almost seven tenths belongs to the island of Great Britain, and a little more than one fourth to Ireland. The islands have a great economic advantage in their irregular coast line. While Europe has but one mile of seacoast to every 200 square miles of area, the ratio of coast to area in the British Isles is ten times as great. Furthermore, this sea exposure is the more valuable because Britain contains no great midland mountain ranges to make internal transit difficult, as is the case, for instance, in Italy. The highest peak in Scotland is Ben Nevis (4406 ft.), in Wales is Snowdon (3571 ft.), and in England is Scafell (3210 ft.). All the mountains are grouped within limited areas, and the rest of the surface, broadly speaking, is low enough to be readily accessible, and high enough to be easily drained.

One of the elevated areas, the Pennine Chain, is a strip of high rolling country averaging twenty miles wide, extending from the Cheviot Hills on the Scottish border to the Peak of Derbyshire in mid-England. On the east are broad moors and wolds, on the west the slope is steeper.

Near this chain in the northwest are the high and rugged mountains of the Lake District in Westmoreland and Cumber-

land; farther south, west of the third meridian, are the less picturesque mountains of Wales, and the lower mountains and hills of southwestern England, extending from the elevated moorlands of Somerset and Devonshire to Lands End. Elsewhere, the low surface of England is diversified only by rolling hills and elevated plains, which barely serve to define the water courses of the country. Such are Salisbury Plain in the south-central part, and radiating from this the Cotswold and Chiltern Hills, and the North and South Downs.

The sweeping curve of the southwestern mountains, continued through the Cotswolds and the Pennine Chain, forms the chief watershed of England, and determines its principal river systems. Most of the waters on its eastern slope find their way to the sea through three large basins. The Thames, England's chief river, in its course of 215 miles drains the northern slopes of the Downs and the southern slopes of the Chilterns; the Wash—a shallow basin of the sea—receives the northern drainage from the Chilterns and that of much of the midland plain; the Humber drains most of the eastern Pennine slope. On the west of the watershed, the Severn, longer and only less important than the Thames, receives the flow from much of southern England and Wales; and in the north are many shorter streams, of which the Dee and the Mersey are most important, because of their fiord-like mouths.

8. River systems of England

North of the end of the Pennine Chain, Britain presents an irregular surface. The tumbled mountain masses of Scotland are cleft in two places by partly flooded valleys; the more southerly of these, opening into the Firth of Forth and the Clyde, is the more important, as it gives access and Ireland to the entire Scotch Lowlands. Ireland, which is separated from Britain by a wide channel, is of a shallow "basin" shape, with few and scattered elevations. It therefore has few navigable streams, and is but poorly drained

9. Topography of Scotland and Ireland

18 COURSE AND CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

These physical features of the British Isles have an important effect upon the climate. Ireland, low and flat, has no protection from the warm, moisture-laden winds of the Atlantic Ocean. Its climate is therefore too wet. In Great Britain, on the other hand, the western mountain ranges condense upon their cold heights the excess of moisture from the ocean, and send it back in numerous streams, the rapid currents of which furnish power for manufacturing the materials found in her mines and the products of her soil; while the deep clefts in these broken ranges, flooded by the sea, furnish ample harbors for the ships which distribute her manufactured products over the entire world. Exposed Ireland receives fifty inches of rainfall annually, with great injury to her low-lying plains; while sheltered eastern Britain, receiving upon her gently sloping downs but half that amount, enjoys the most favorable conditions for agriculture, and indeed for all the varied human activities. The temperate climate, neither too enervating nor too harsh, and the long days of summer, are alike favorable to human progress.

The isolation of the primitive islanders of course made their development in civilization different from that of the peoples of southern or even western Europe. Although their nearness to the Continent led them in time to copy its institutions instead of creating wholly new ones, yet during the long period before intercourse with the Continent became easy and frequent, this transplanted civilization came to have a marked form of its own. Then, too, the English made more rapid political progress behind their salt-water barriers than the war-harried peoples of the Continent.

The southeastern angle of Britain lies nearest to the mainland of Europe; and here was the point at which the Celts, and later the Teutons, gained access to the island. Furthermore, the Thames, which discharges into the North Sea near this southeastern angle, drains a large portion of the territory

of southern Britain, and makes all the interior of the country easy of access from Europe. This geographical situation, therefore, not only determined what part of the islands should be earliest developed, but also made London almost necessarily the commercial and economic center, first of western Europe, and later of the world.

(C) THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN

For information regarding the earliest inhabitants of any country, the student must look, not to written records, but to what may be termed "unrecorded history"—the body of facts derived by scientific reasoning from indirect but trustworthy evidence. For example, geological science informs us that, because of movements of the earth's crust, large areas of land in Britain now stand at different levels above the sea from those which they once occupied. It further testifies that Britain and the Continent were once connected by land masses. In those remote ages, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, and bears wandered freely from European to British forests; and probably all the species of plants and animals apparently native to the British Isles really migrated thither before the present bed of the English Channel and the North Sea sank and became flooded by the ocean. Geology and kindred sciences furnish abundant proof that the earliest men in Britain, also, came by land or sea from the Continent.

Archæologists trace several periods in the development of the human race. During the earliest period, men lived in caves, wore clothing of skins roughly sewed together with bone needles, and ate shellfish, berries, and other foods easily obtained. In their struggles with nature and with wild beasts, they gradually learned to make use of roughly chipped stone tools and weapons, whence their age is known as the Paleolithic (ancient-stone) Age.

After a lapse of centuries, the Paleolithic merged into the

12. Unre-
corded his-
tory of
Britain

13. Prehis-
toric men
in Britain

20 COURSE AND CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

Neolithic (new-stone) Age, marked by the use of more finished stone weapons with fitted wooden handles, woven cloth, and pottery; then followed ages when bronze and iron came successively into use.



CHIPPED STONE
ARROWHEAD.

Neolithic Age.

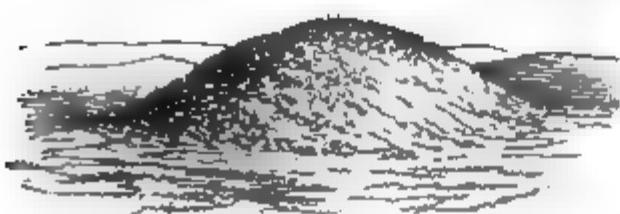
That man occupied Britain during each of these ages we have abundant evidence. In river deposits and in caves are found flint tools and weapons of the paleolithic men dating from a period before 1000 b.c., and in other deposits are

found tool-dressed stones with accurately shaped mortises hewn out by neolithic men. Traces of the men of the Bronze and Iron ages are especially numerous. Their huge "barrows" (burial



BRONZE CELT.

Bronze Age.



BOWL-SHAPED BARROW.

Near Avebury; clay burial mound 20 feet in diameter, 5 feet high.

mounds), their "dolmens" (sacred stone pillars), their flint and bronze weapons of war, shields and battle-axes, their tools in the shape of chisels and spades, their ornaments in the form of collars, necklaces, and bracelets, their dishes of sun-dried pottery, and their metal coins, all testify to the existence of a considerable degree of civilization in Britain at least as early as the year 200 b.c.

Ethnology, the science of race origins, tells us that at the beginning of the Neolithic Age the island of Great Britain was

inhabited by two types of people: one, now called the Iverian, low of stature and dark of hair and eyes; the other of Scandinavian type, taller in stature and light in complexion. During the Bronze and Iron ages these neolithic men were forced westward by two groups of Celts from the

14. Success-

sion of races

in Britain

Continent, the Goidels, or Gael, coming first, and the Brythons, or Britons (meaning probably "clothed men"), following close behind. It is probable that the Gael were early driven by the advancing Britons into the mountains of Wales, the western islands, and the Highlands of Scotland. The Britons, in their turn, were forced westward by swarms of Belgic Celts from Gaul,—the latter being driven across the Channel by Teutonic tribes (the Franks and the Saxons), who were themselves yielding to pressure from people farther east.



EARLY DISTRIBUTION, AND WESTWARD PRESSURE, OR RACES.

Our knowledge of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain is of course very incomplete. In southern Britain, immense monumental stones dating from before the Christian era, such as those of Stonehenge and Avebury, probably mark the location of great religious centers. Defensive works like the Wansdike and Grimsdike (in Wiltshire) probably mark the scenes of struggles between the possessing and the invading races. It is said that Phoenician traders visited the shores of Britain in very



STONEHENGE.

22 COURSE AND CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

early times to procure tin; but it is probable that Pytheas, sent by the Greek colony of Massilia in 330 B.C. to find tin-producing lands in the northwest, first made widely known the possibilities of trade with Britain. Posidonius, a Greek geographer, visited and wrote about the island in the first century B.C., but the information he gives is very scanty. It is from the account given by Julius Cæsar (55–54 B.C.), together with what we can learn from archaeology, that we are able to construct our first satisfactory picture of conditions in Britain.

In this picture we see Wales held by a race of mixed Iverian and Gaelic (the Silures); Cumberland and Scotland held by Gaelic tribes known to Roman historians as the Picts; and Ireland held by other Gaelic tribes known as the Scots. The Gael were probably still wholly barbaric.

15. Pre-Roman civilization in Britain There were no walled cities in northern Britain, and, indeed, no towns worthy of the name. The hardy Picts dwelt in tent-like structures, wore little or no clothing, and relied for food on hunting, foraging, and fishing. For fishing they used boats made of wickerwork covered with stretched skins. In war time—that is, practically all the time—they stained their bodies with vegetable dyes to make themselves look fierce.

The Britons of the south were more civilized, because of their trade with the Continent. They had few large settlements, but the inhabitants of each region had “a tract of woody country surrounded by a wall or high bank and a ditch,” into which they could retreat with all their possessions in time of war. At other times they lived in scattered cone-shaped huts made of poles interwoven with twigs. They wore clothes made of skins, and cultivated grain for food. They were organized into tribes governed by kings, and often several tribes were banded into a strong confederation. The kings were rather fighting leaders than administrators, and many of the functions of government (including the punishment of crime) were in the hands of the Druids, or priests,—for the Druidic system

of religion was even more highly developed here than on the Continent. Its center was the "Holy Island" of Mona (Anglesey), where the Druids taught worship of nature, of running streams, of trees, of animals, of the heavenly bodies. Surface mining and commerce were widely carried on. Rough coins imitating those imported from Brittany were manufactured by the natives, both for the purposes of trade and to be worn as ornaments; but most of the money in circulation was of foreign make. Britain exported silver, iron, tin, grain, cattle, skins, dogs, and slaves; and imported metal wares, articles of glass, of pottery, of cloth, and that indispensable ingredient of food, salt.

The student has now examined the pre-Roman period of English history, and has hastily surveyed the later developments of which it was the basis. Scientific evidence ^{16. Summary} shows that the island was inhabited in very early times, even before metal tools were invented. Before the advent of the Romans, Britain was invaded by at least four races in turn,—the Ivernians, the Gael, the Britons, and the Belgic Celts,—each of which was seeking relief, by migration westward, from the pressure of its more powerful successor. At first civilization was of necessity confined almost wholly to the southern districts, where farming and grazing were the chief means of livelihood. These early inhabitants gradually developed simple tribal institutions, a system of religious worship, and the beginnings of mining and commerce. Also, the student has noted how the salubrious climate of Britain, its fertile soil, abundant mineral wealth, and opportunities for securing mechanical power were fitted to afford its citizens every possible advantage in the struggle for existence.

TOPICS

- (1) Make a list of the elements which go to make up civilization, ^{Suggestive} as they appear in this chapter. (2) Which of these are essential ^{topics}

24 COURSE AND CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

only to the higher forms of civilization? (3) What improvements and inventions were necessary before England could become a commercial nation? A nation of manufacturers? (4) Why can not Ireland use her extensive ore deposits as advantageously as England? (5) Why is England subject to excessive fogs and frequent brief showers? (6) Do the tides affect her shallow seas much or little; and what influence do they have on commerce? (7) What counties of England can be reached by way of the Thames? of the Humber? of the Severn? (8) What effect would the invention of stone weapons have on the food supply of the paleolithic men? (9) Why was Salisbury Plain the logical site for the religious center of the early Britons at Stonehenge? (10) Compare the civilization of the Britons in the time of Cæsar with that of the American Indians in the time of Columbus. (11) Where is the language of the Gael still to be heard?

(12) Stonehenge and Avebury. (13) The contents of a Celtic barrow. (14) The origin of the names Britannia, Albion, Hibernia. (15) The relation of London to the land masses of the earth (use globe and compasses). (16) The proportion of daylight and darkness in the British Isles in midsummer. Account for the long days, and show in detail their influence upon the lives of the people.

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Source

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Search
topics

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN (55 B.C.-449 A.D.)

THE invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar was a natural result of the Roman practice of sending ambitious ex-officials of the Republic into honorable exile as governors of distant provinces. Such men had no outlet for their restless energies except in fighting; and it was thus that Cæsar as proconsul in Gaul was led first to conquer various Celtic and Teutonic tribes, and then, on the pretense that the Gallic Celts were made restless by their kinsmen in Britain, to attack that island.

In the fall of 55 B.C., Cæsar crossed the Strait of Dover with two legions — about seventy-five hundred men — to “spy out the land.” Spirited resistance from the natives, and the wreck of several of his ships on the exposed shore, showed him that his force was too small for success, and he wisely hurried back to the Continent. The next year (54 B.C.) he returned with ten legions of soldiers, a body of cavalry, and numerous war galleys. Advancing westward through Kent, and crossing the Thames (probably about twenty miles above London), he pushed northward as far as the present St. Albans, hoping to strike terror into the hearts of the native princes and make them tributaries of the Roman state. His plans, however, were interrupted by news of trouble in Gaul, and of political changes at Rome. After a campaign of two months he withdrew his forces to the Continent, where he soon forgot Britain in more exciting contests with the Germanic tribes and with his political enemies at home.



Under the early Roman Emperors, there were three notable attempts at conquest in Britain.

(1) An expedition was sent out by Claudius in 43 A.D., consisting of about fifty thousand men under the command of an able general, Aulus Plautius. Advancing from the southeast and south, Plautius made himself master of almost the entire basin of the Thames, and of the land westward to the mouth of the Severn. Later generals pushed the frontier northward and westward, so that by the middle of the century the Romans controlled the country as far as the mouths of the Humber and the Dee, and had planted important fortresses or colonies at Deva (also called Castra — whence the modern name of Chester), Lindum (Lincoln), and Camulodunum (Colchester). In the year 61 the Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus made a cruel and successful attack on Mona, the holy island of the Druids. Meanwhile the east was goaded to revolt by the tyranny of the Romans: a warrior queen, Boadicea, was publicly flogged like a mere slave for resisting a tax collector. At her call the Britons rose by thousands (61 A.D.), and nearly succeeded in recovering control of the land north of the Thames. Camulodunum was stormed, and it is said that seventy thousand Romans were massacred.

"Ran the land with Roman slaughter, multitudinous agonies;
Perished many a maid and matron, many a valorous legionary;
Fell the colony, city, and citadel, London, Verulam, Camulodune."

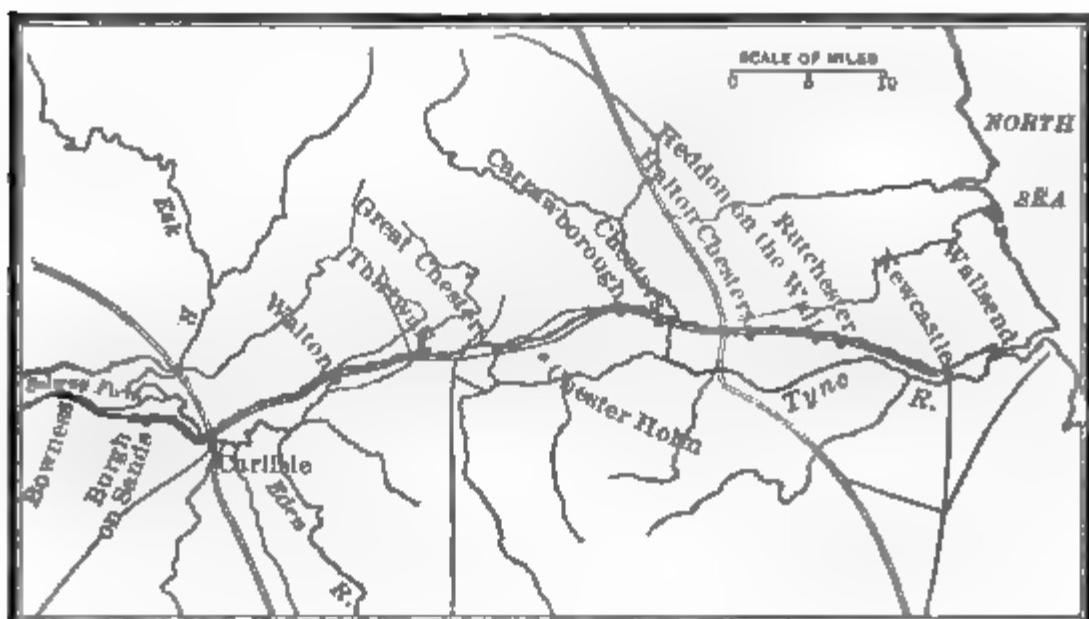
18. Conquest of the south under Claudius (43-50 A.D.)

Tennyson,
Boadicea.
lines 84-86

Suetonius bravely hurled his scanty forces across Britain into the very heart of the rebellion. Roman promptness, skill, and courage proved their superiority over barbaric numbers and valor; in the decisive battle the Britons were slain by thousands, and the revolt collapsed.

(2) In 78 A.D., a fresh advance was begun by order of the Emperor Vespasian. During the next decade the Roman gen-

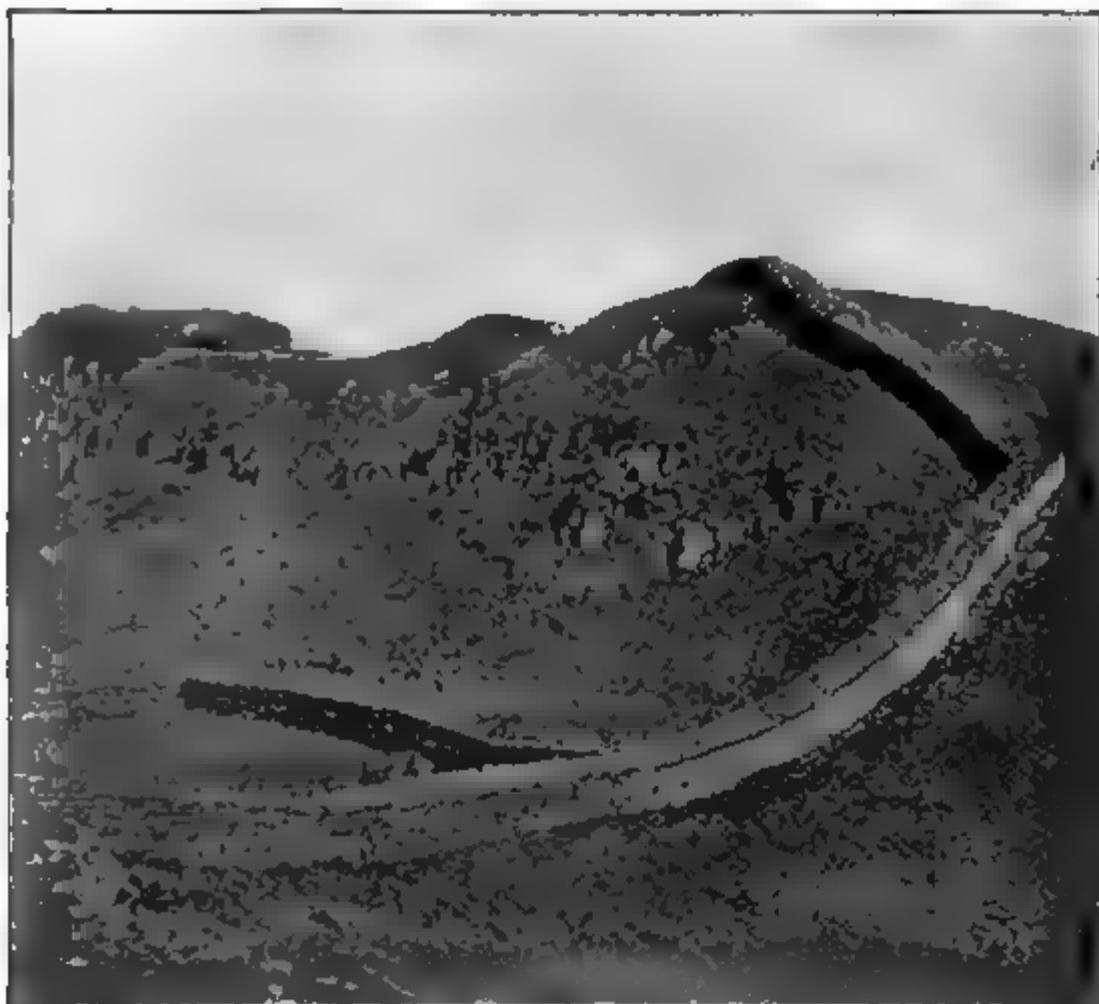
eral Agricola extended the Roman dominion on the east of the Pennine Chain far beyond the Humber, and attempted, **19. Conquest of the north (78-208 A.D.)** by building a line of forts, to hold the territory as far as the Clyde; but when the Emperor Hadrian visited Britain in 121 A.D., he fixed upon the Solway-Tyne line as a defensible frontier, and caused a strong wall to be constructed there entirely across the island, strengthened with redoubts and flanked by a military road. *Walton, Thirlwall, Heddon on the Wall, Rutchester, Chesters, Chester Holm*—



HADRIAN'S WALL.

what a story do these names of localities between Newcastle and Carlisle tell of the long history of this Roman Wall!

(3) About a century after Hadrian, the Emperor Severus undertook the conquest of the Pictish tribes of the far north. borne by armies which displayed most extraordinary courage and endurance, the standard of Rome was planted on the extreme northern limit of the island, though at a cost of fifty thousand men and with no permanent advantage. No attempt was made to retain the district beyond the Clyde, and even the region between the Clyde and Hadrian's Wall proved not worth the winning.



HADRIAN'S WALL NEAR CATTERICK.

Indeed, the Romans had firm control of but little territory outside of the great pentagon marked out by the cities of Eboracum (York), Dover, Porchester, Caerleon, and Chester. From the beginning the administration was, of course, largely military. Frontier fortresses were built commanding the passes from the Severn valley eastward. Fortified camps, or *castra*, were placed at the intersections of all the important roads, and the part which they played in the Romanizing of Britain may be inferred from the number of British cities which to-day carry in their names the old Roman *castra*—as Leicester, Dorchester, Manchester, Winchester. There were fifty walled towns, the ground plan of each of which was based on that of a Roman camp—the city being

bounded by a square *vallum*, or rampart, while within were rows of wooden houses with thatched roofs arranged in rectangles like the barracks of the legionary soldiers.

From town to town ran the Roman military roads, following direct lines, in strong contrast to the winding roads of pre-

81. Roman roads Roman Britain. Other roads connected the various mili-

tary centers with the mining and industrial regions.

Many roads were built to endure for centuries; the foundations were of large stones laid in mortar on beaten earth, and over this in successive strata were placed smaller stones, gravel, sand, clay, and a surface dressing. In laying out these roads the Romans spared no toil, hewing their way through vast forests, building protecting dikes in the fens of Lincolnshire, draining the marshes and swamps of Somersetshire, or building causeways across them on driven pile foundations, bridging streams as large as the Tyne, and constructing sewers and aqueducts along the roads in the cities through which they ran. Of all these roads, the most important were the Watling Street (London to Chester) and the Fosse Way (Exeter to Lincoln), which formed upon the breast of the island a huge St. Andrew's cross with its intersection near Leicester, and made communication easy between the extremities of the province.

The Roman administration of Britain was very costly. Military expenses were enormous, and the inhabitants suffered

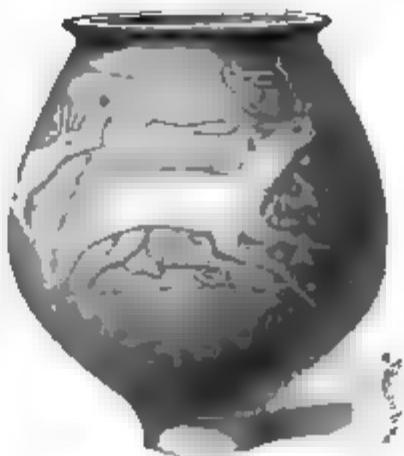
82. Economic conditions under the Romans greatly from the Roman policy of draining the resources of conquered provinces for the benefit of the central government, and of drafting for foreign service the sturdiest of the Britons. Grinding taxes were laid on

land, on trade, on inhabitants: a poll tax was laid upon artisans; the duties on imports amounted to one eighth of the value of the goods; a portion was demanded of all profits from market sales; large levies of grain were made upon the landowners as supplies for the troops; rents amounted to from one tenth to one fifth of the profits of the soil. As the Roman

Empire declined in power these exactions became greater and greater, and the general effect of the Roman policy was to destroy such capital as had accumulated and to check industry.

Nevertheless, the Romans hastened the progress of Britain from barbarism to civilization. The scanty clearings of the natives gave way to large and well-tilled farms. One year (357 A.D.) eight hundred vessels were laden with British grain for the Rhine legions. Vast herds of cattle pastured on the open slopes. Iron, tin, copper, and lead mines were operated for the benefit of Roman lessees. The remains of earthenware vessels, which abound for a space of twenty miles around the village of Castor, testify to the activity of the Romans in the manufacture of pottery.

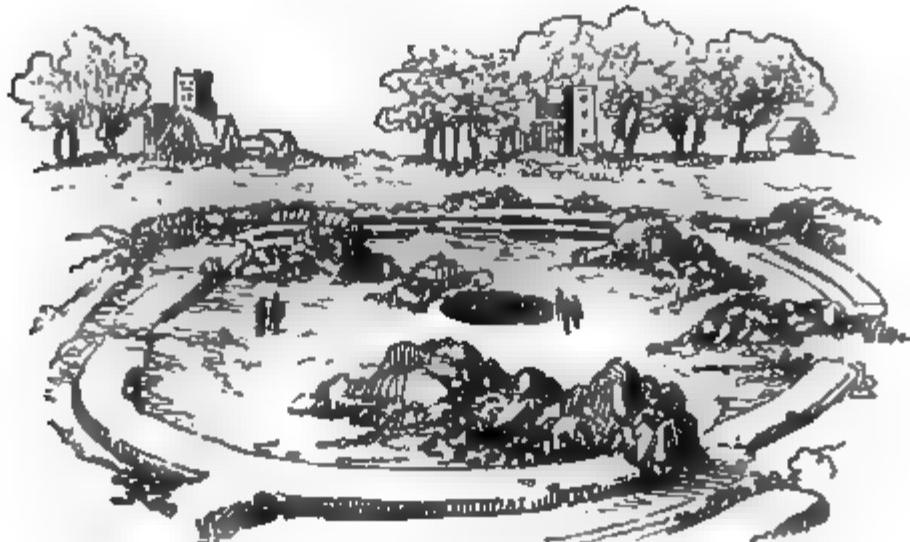
These remains also show something of the social side of Roman life in Britain; for depicted on the pottery we find representations of boar hunting and stag hunting. But Roman social life was essentially the life of the city, not of the country. The walls of Uriconium inclosed a space three miles in circuit. When Diocletian reorganized the Empire (293 A.D.), York, a stronghold at the head of tide water in the river Ouse, became the seat of government for one of the joint Emperors (*Augusti*), and therefore an important legislative and judicial center. Other cities, like Londinium, Caerleon, and Camulodunum, developed into commercial centers of great importance. Coins were struck at first to commemorate the victories of the earlier Emperors in Britain, and later to promote commerce. Some bear the mint mark "P[ecunia] Lon[diniensis]" ("money of London") and others



VASE OF CASTOR WARE.
Showing stag hunting.
Found in a Roman cemetery
near Canterbury.

23. Social conditions under the Romans

the proud inscription "Vic[oria] Brit[annica]." Temples were built to Jupiter, to Mars, and to the "Genius of Britain." Christian churches, too, were built, as the new faith spread through the Empire under the tolerant Constantine. Baths with tessellated floors and frescoed walls, theaters and amphi-



ROMAN THEATER AT VERULAMIUM, EXHUMED IN 1847 AND 1869.
It was 193 feet in diameter, with frescoed plaster walls.

theaters, tiled roofs, mosaic pavements, and devices for heating houses, all testify to the wealth and luxury of the upper classes; and schools of literature and of oratory show that the Romans in their new abode indulged the tastes brought from their native land.

During the fourth century Rome's power was steadily declining, because of the decay of good government at home,

24. End of the Roman control and the enormous strain of defending the frontiers. In Britain, the Picts and the Scots, issuing from their northern and western strongholds, made repeated raids upon the outlying Roman fortresses; and from the remains of burned villas we may conclude that the Romans had continually to reconquer the island from its original owners. To a "Duke of the Britains" (*Dux Britanniarum*) was intrusted the defense of the Wall, and to a "Count of Britain" the supervision of administration. Meanwhile, in the year 364, the first

Saxon band of raiders appeared on the eastern coast of Britain, and soon a "Count of the Saxon Coast" (*Comes Litoris Saxonici*) had to be appointed.

Two causes finally compelled the Romans to abandon Britain: (1) mutinies among the troops in Gaul, and (2) the invasion of Italy by the Visigoths under Alaric. In 383 the general Maximus, who aspired to be Emperor, led his troops from Britain into Gaul; in 402 the Vandal chief Stilicho, to whom the Emperor had intrusted the defense of Italy, withdrew a legion for use against Alaric; in 409 a second usurper, Constantius, led the Roman forces remaining in Britain across the Channel to fight his battles in Gaul. In the following year came the closing event in the drama. An appeal of the Roman officials in Britain for aid against the barbarians was refused by the Emperor Honorius, and the island was abandoned to its fate (410).

The Roman officials continued to exert a shadowy control for a time, but no strong government existed. The assaults of barbaric Picts and Scots were no longer repelled, since the Duke of the Britains was helpless without the Roman garrisons; many of the Roman colonists deserted the island; and the natives had lost their power of resistance to the savages through their long subjection to Rome's iron rule. "At last the Britons, forsaking their cities and wall, took to flight and were dispersed. Thus, being expelled their dwellings and possessions, they saved themselves from starvation by robbing and plundering one another, adding to the calamities occasioned by foreigners, by their own domestic broils, till the whole country was left destitute of food except such as could be procured in the chase." A doubtful legend tells how Vortigern, the ruler of Kent, in the year 449 invited Hengist and Horsa, leaders of certain Teutonic tribes, to aid him against the Picts and the Scots. Whether this be true or not, the invasion of Kent by the Jutes, under their

*Bede,
Ecclesiasti-
cal History,
bk. i. ch. 12*

leadership, about the middle of the fifth century, marks the beginning of a new period in British history.

It was five hundred years after Cæsar's landing at Dover, before the first permanent band of Teutonic invaders landed at the mouth of the Thames. During those five centuries **Barbarism** gave way to civilization in southeastern Britain; but the new masters of the soil remained an alien class, which lived chiefly in walled towns and maintained its power only by an overwhelming display of military force, recruited largely from the Continent.

Thus made secure, the conquerors transformed the entire face of the country through their genius for engineering and industry. Their roads, camps, dikes, ramparts, and ports influenced the development of Britain in after years, and their zealous search for mineral and agricultural wealth disclosed many of the treasures of the soil. But their activity was wholly selfish, and when their overgrown political structure at last toppled from its own weight, Britain was one of the earliest

ROMAN GRAVE SLAB.
Found at York.

portions of the empire to fall away from the mass. Meanwhile the native inhabitants had become unfitted by slavery to perpetuate the civilization bequeathed to them, and Britain was now to become the prize of the freedom-loving Teutonic peoples.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) Why did Rome eagerly seek to conquer countries rich in mineral and agricultural wealth? Suggest physical, political, economic reasons.
- (2) Why did Cæsar march so far westward?

before crossing the Thames? (3) Do you consider Cæsar's second campaign in Britain a success? (4) Why was York, rather than London, the residence of one of the Augusti? (5) Why do modern railroads follow the lines of old Roman roads? (6) Why were the Roman roads called "highways" by their Anglo-Saxon successors? (7) Explain the historical bearing of the title *Comes Litoris Saxonici*. (8) Trace the route of the earliest Saxon pirates from their homes to British shores. (9) Why were the Romans unwise in laying duties upon imports into Britain? (10) Trace the causes of the downfall of Roman power in Britain.

Search topics

(11) Cæsar's successes in Gaul and his failures in Britain. (12) The Teutonic tribes as described by Cæsar and Tacitus. (13) A comparison of Cæsar's method of warfare with that of the Britons. (14) The wall of Hadrian; its location, structure, defenses. (15) Roman remains in some British towns. (16) A list of towns named from *castra* (-caster, -chester, -cester) in Britain; in New England. (17) Why was the Roman imperial system impracticable on so large a scale?

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Church, *The Count of the Saxon Shore*; Henty, *Beric the Briton*; Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*; Tennyson, *Boadicea*; Bates and Coman, *English History told by English Poets*, 1-6.

Illustrative works

CHAPTER III.

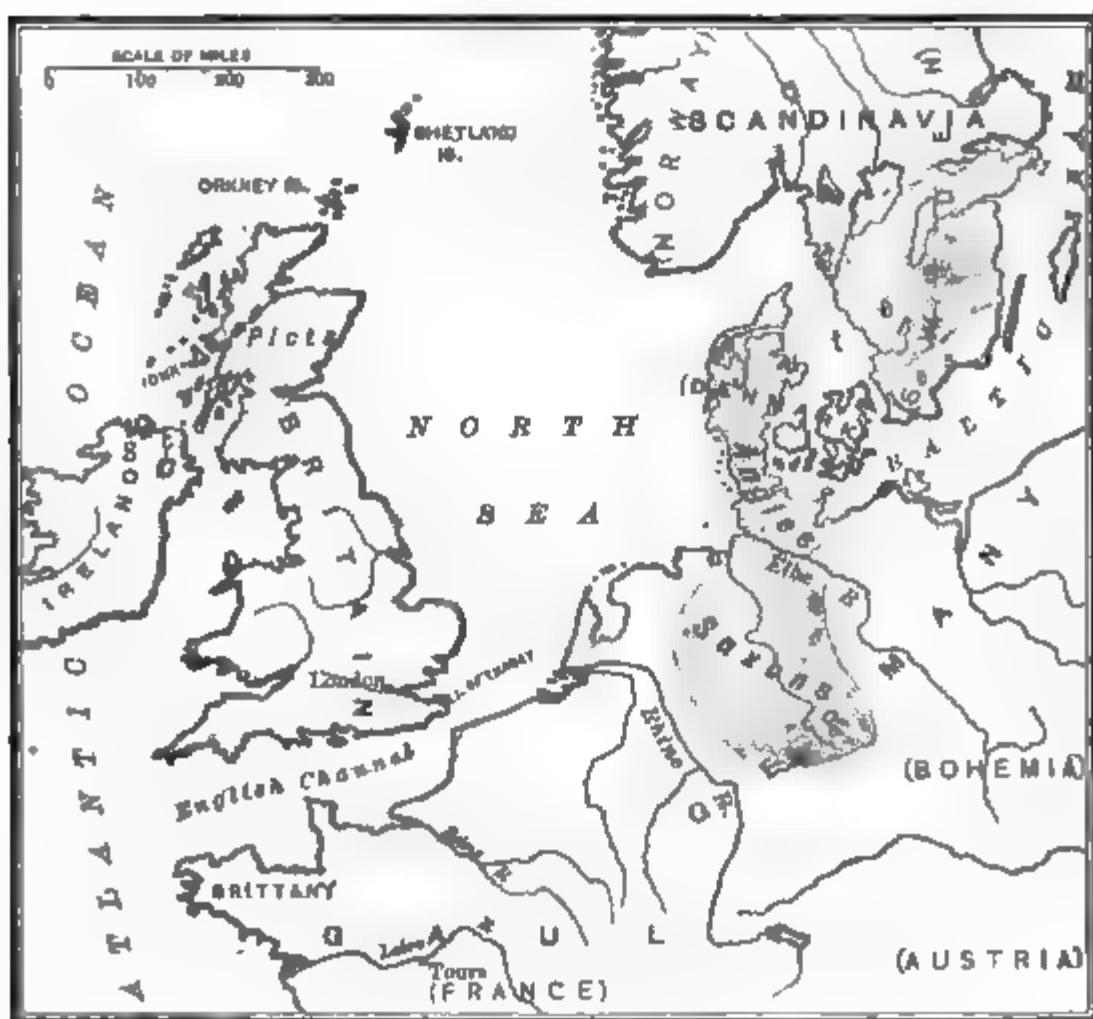
CELT'S AGAINST TEUTONS (449-827)

27. The Teutonic invasions ACCORDING to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (§ 67) the first permanent Teutonic settlers on British soil were bands of Jutes who landed on the island of Thanet in the year 449. From that time onward, numerous swarms of Teutons from the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea crossed over to Britain and settled there. The prime reasons for these invasions must be sought in the westward pressure exerted by the various migrating races in the north of Europe and in the opportunities for easy conquest afforded by the disorganized and dispirited peoples in Britain. For four centuries the strong arm of Rome had held in check the migratory movement described in § 14, the Teutonic Franks being stopped at the Rhine, and their Saxon kinsmen being forced northward to the Baltic coast. Now that this arm was paralyzed, the westward movement was renewed with added strength.

28. Character of the invaders The newcomers possessed certain barbaric virtues in a high degree. The chief of these was valor, a quality which they showed equally while hunting wolves, wild boars, and bears in the German forests, while pursuing the walrus and the whale upon the turbulent northern waters, and while carrying on wars of conquest. Cowardice they punished with death. "When you see their rowers," writes the bishop of a Gallic diocese, "you may make up your mind that every one of them is an arch pirate, with such wonderful unanimity do all of them at once command, obey, teach, and learn their business of brigandage. Your foe is of all foes the fiercest." They were a rough, cruel, hard-

Sidonius Apollinaris, Letter to an officer of the Channel Fleet, about 470 A.D.

fighting, hard-drinking race; yet they far surpassed the Romans in their capacity for developing the finer human sentiments,—respect for womanhood, appreciation of the sublime and the beautiful aspects of nature, and susceptibility to tenderness and pathos. Furthermore, they possessed a love



THE ORIGINAL HOMES OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

of country life which led them to leave desolate the great cities founded by the Romans, and settle in scattered rural communities. It is these qualities that have made the English people peculiarly a race of home makers, while at the same time they are enterprising and audacious in seeking fields of activity in lands even more undeveloped than was Britain at the landing of the Anglo-Saxons in 449.

The invaders were an imaginative race, but their superstitions were not degrading; on the contrary, their belief that the operations of nature were due to divine beings was distinctly ennobling. Thor, their god of the elements, like the Roman Jupiter, caused the thunder and lightning of the summer storms; Frea, their deity of peace, joy, and fruitfulness, caused life and growth in plant and animal; Eastre, their goddess of the dawn and of the spring, caused the revival of vegetation after its apparent destruction in winter. These and Woden, god of war and boundaries, and Tiu, deity of the sky, have left their names embodied in our common English names, Thursday, Friday, Easter, Wednesday, Tuesday. The Anglo-Saxons had also numerous minor gods, which, indeed, were the chief deities of the common people. To their imaginations, the malarial swamps were the homes of huge fen-monsters; dwarfs lurked in the barrows; "water-nixies" and fairies peopled the glens and pools; and "weirds" occupied the border ground between the supernatural and the human.

Before their appearance in Britain, the Teutons had already developed a crude political system. In any tribe, the body of

fighting men, including youths of fifteen years and upward, formed a "war host" which was led by a military chief called an *ealdorman*. The tribe had also a political head, or king, who claimed descent from Woden, and therefore ruled as it were "by divine right," but his authority depended also upon the sanction of the tribe. There were at least two social classes, distinguished by accident of birth. The *eorls* were persons of noble blood, the *ceorls* were simple freemen. At that time a ceorl could not become an eorl, because he could not alter his ancestry, but he might become an ealdorman by brilliant achievements in war. A unique class, distinguished not by blood but by profession, were the *gesiths* (companions). These were men who attached them-

selves to a king or an ealdorman, acted as his bodyguard and his comrades, and — since they made fighting their sole occupation — were dependent on him even for food and clothes. On this latter account, he became known as their *haford*, or lord (bread-giver). So close was the bond between lord



THE "LORD" AS THE "BREAD-GIVER."

From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript.

and gesith, that it was considered a disgrace if the latter came away alive from the field on which his chief had fallen.

The most important custom prevailing among the Teutons was that of deciding in concert all matters of common interest. "About minor matters the chiefs deliberate; about the more important, the entire tribe. Their freedom causes this disadvantage, that they do not meet all at one time, or as they are bidden, but two or three days are wasted through their tardiness in assembling. When the mul-

31. The
Teutonic
moot sys-
tem
Tacitus,
Germania,
12



titude see fit to do so, they seat themselves in full armor. Then the king or the chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard — more because he has influence to persuade than because he has the authority to command. If his sentiments displease them, they reject them by murmuring; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears." By such "folk-moots" as these were developed the Teutonic spirit of freedom and of loyalty to a chosen leader.

Within a half century after 449, three bands of invaders became masters of most of the territory south of the Thames.

(1) The first band, composed of Jutes, with great difficulty forced their way through Kent until they were checked by the Andredsweald, an impenetrable forest of oak and beech extending along the present Wealden Heights. (2) Soon afterwards, a band of Saxons landed near the present Southampton and forced its way eastward toward the same barrier. (3) Near the end of the century another band of Saxons, led by the celebrated Cerdic, landed on the Solent, pushed their way into Wiltshire, and founded the kingdom of Wessex. There, for a hundred years, their energies were occupied with the fierce effort to drive back the Britons. The British fortress of Old Sarum, commanding the sacred

38. Conquest of southern Britain



SITE OF THE OLD FORT OF SARUM.

Fortified area was 27 acres, girded by a ditch and a *vallum* (rampart).

Salisbury Plain, was taken by these West Saxons in 552. On the heights of Deorham, overlooking the Severn valley, the allied kings of the Britons made their final but fruitless stand in 577. Three British kings were killed, the allied forces were put to rout, and the West Saxons gained possession of Bristol, Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, thus driving the Britons beyond the Severn.

During this sixth century, the Angles (North-folk and South-folk) were taking possession of Britain between the Stour

33. Teutonic settlements and the Humber. Of this movement we have no records, but archaeological remains and place names indicate that the invaders came in great numbers and were very widely dispersed over the district. South of these, a small body of Saxons, perhaps attracted by the wealth of Colchester, occupied and settled what is now the county of Essex.

The district north of the Humber, called Northumbria, evidently fell into the possession of two bands of Angles. One built up the kingdom of Bernicia in the Tweed valley; the other, advancing up the Yorkshire Ouse, took possession of the magnificent Roman citadel of York, and made it the center of the kingdom of Deira. Meanwhile numerous pioneers moved up the Trent to its head waters,—thirty tribes are known to have won locations in mid-Britain,—and south of the Peak of Derbyshire they later founded the mid-Anglian kingdom of Mercia, so called because of its position on the “march,” or boundary, between the newcomers and the main body of native Britons to the west.

The Britons, whom the invaders oddly misnamed “the Welsh”, (foreigners), still held the western half of the island,

34. Failure to conquer Wales south of the Firth of Forth, in three districts called West Wales, North Wales, and Strathclyde. The strongholds of Bristol and Chester controlled the communication between North Wales and the other two districts, and after the

battle of Deorham (577) the West Welsh were isolated from their kinsmen. Not many years later, forces from Northumbria captured Chester, thus isolating Strathclyde and making forever impossible the union of the Britons into a strong nation. Each of the three groups, however, long remained master of its own territory: it was more than two centuries before Strathclyde was reduced to the dimensions shown on the map (p. 40), and before West Wales was conquered by Wessex; and for more than four centuries all attempts of the Anglo-Saxons to conquer North Wales ended in failure.

Of the desperate struggle of the Britons to preserve their national existence we know only through the myths and legends of the Welsh bards and myth-telling historians. The most notable of these, the legends of the Round Table, deal especially with the exploits of a half-mythical champion of Welsh liberties, King Arthur, son of the wholly mythical Uther Pendragon. Arthur's real achievements are hopelessly buried in the mass of fable that has gathered about his name. "He in twelve set battles discomfited the Saxons," says Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, "but in one most memorable; in which, girding himself with his sword 'Calibourn,' he flew upon his enemies and with his own hand slew eight hundred of them: which is but one of his own wonderful deeds."

The Anglo-Saxon conquest was very bloody and destructive. Flourishing cities like Anderida (Pevensey), Verulamium, and Chester were wholly destroyed. The language of the Britons—except a few homely words (such as "gown," "mop," "pitcher") used by women and slaves—ceased to be heard. Roman law almost disappeared. Christianity persisted only among the unconquered Britons of western Britain. Elsewhere the natives were expelled, annihilated, or enslaved. The Picts, whose raids had led to the introduction of the Teutons into Britain, could make no effective stand

35. Destruc-
tive effects
of the con-
quest

against the invaders, and by the end of the sixth century were driven beyond the Firth of Forth. There they founded a strong kingdom, but soon found new enemies in a body of Scots from Ireland, who founded a rival kingdom just north of the Firth of Clyde.

The description of the conquest written by the Venerable Bede sets forth graphically its character

Bede, Ecclesiastical History, bk. i. ch. 15 and effects. "Public as well as private structures," he says,

"were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword; nor was there any to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remainder, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude if they were not killed even upon the spot."

While Christianity was thus being destroyed in southeastern Britain, there was growing up in the north an imported Celtic

36 **The** branch of the Christian Church. About the year 432, **Celtic** Saint Patrick, then a monk of Tours in France, was sent **Church in** the north by Pope Celestine to Ireland as a missionary. He is said to have consecrated four hundred and fifty missionary bishops, to have caused the erection of three hundred and sixty-five churches, to have spread the knowledge of the Scriptures, and



NORTH BRITAIN, 600-900 A.D.

to have founded numerous schools. Irish Christianity, thus created, always preserved an essentially missionary type, and early set itself the task of converting the Picts and Scots of northwestern Britain. One of the Irish missionaries, called Saint Columba, founded a famous monastery at Iona, an island off the west coast of Scotland (563), and the next half century was devoted by Irish and Scottish missionaries to building up the Christian Church in north Britain.

Almost at the end of the sixth century, the Latin or parent Church gained a new foothold in the south. In the year 597, a monk named Augustine was commissioned by Pope Gregory I. to attempt the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. At this time King Ethelbert of Kent had married a Frankish princess, Bertha, who was a Christian; and therefore when Augustine with forty assistants landed in the island of Thanet, he was permitted to preach and conduct services in Canterbury.

It is hard to imagine a more impressive sight than this group of devoted Christians, marching into the future capital of British Christendom, with upraised crucifix, chanting in solemn litany the phrases which mark the world-wide difference between the barbaric and the Christian conception of life: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from all Thy Holy House, because we have sinned." *Bede, Ecclesiastical History, bk. i. ch. 25* To the barbarians of Kent, the scene, made gorgeous with all the Roman civil and ecclesiastical symbolism, must have been deeply impressive. The conversion of King Ethelbert soon took place, and the first English archbishopric was established at Canterbury. Within a few years missionaries had

37. The
Latin
Church in
the south



SAXON FONT, CANTERBURY.

converted all southwestern Britain to the new faith. The Welsh bishops, however, rejected the attempts of Augustine to bring them under the authority of Canterbury.



CHURCH OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, GLASTONBURY.

Reputed to be on a site consecrated by Joseph of Arimathea, guardian of the Holy Grail.

Throughout the entire century and a half of migration and conquest, the various tribes were gradually working out a new

**§8. Con-
struc-
tive
effects
of the
conquest** political system based on Teutonic ideas. At first, many ealdormen became kings, having earned their higher title by skillful leadership, bravery in battle, and organizing ability. In their various kingdoms, the ancient folkmoots and the council of chiefs took on a definite form of procedure, and a rude system of laws grew up. Later these petty kingdoms, after much warfare among themselves, became united under overlords, who frequently assumed the old Roman title of *Dux Britanniarum* (Duke of the Britains) or its Saxon equivalent, "Bretwalda." Thus went on an evolutionary process tending to secure the "survival of the fittest" among the warring states.

By the year 600 this process had resulted in raising seven states — the so-called Saxon Heptarchy — into a position of importance. Four of these — Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia — were cramped within rigid natural boundaries; the other three — Northumbria (formed by the union of Bernicia and Deira), Mercia, and Wessex — were free to expand, and it was therefore natural that these states should absorb those less favorably situated, and should then fight with one another for supremacy.

The first accretion was about Northumbria, whose king Edwin (617–633) drove back the Picts as far as Edinburgh (Edwin's fortress), wrested territory from the Welsh, forced his overlordship upon Wessex, and formed an alliance with Kent. His marriage with King Ethelbert's daughter led to his acceptance of Christianity, and his conversion involved the conversion of the nation. The heathen high priest, Coifi, mounted a horse, rode to the pagan temple, hurled his spear into its sacred precincts, and ordered it to be burned to the ground. Northumbria was rapidly Christianized, and an archbishopric was established at York.

Edwin, now at the height of his power, affected great state. He assumed the title of Bretwalda because of his Welsh conquests, carried a spear adorned with a tuft of feathers as a sort of scepter, and caused a standard always to be borne before him. His pride, however, went before a fall; for by his conquests he had created an enemy in Cadwallon, the most powerful of the Welsh chiefs, and another in Penda, king of Mercia.

The struggle with these enemies was in essence a contest between paganism and Christianity. "Penda was an idolater, and a stranger to the name of Christ; but Cadwallon, though he bore the name and professed himself a Christian, was so barbarous in his disposition and behavior that he spared neither the female sex nor the

39. Pre-dominance of Northumbria (617–633)

Bede,
Ecclesiastical History,
bk. ii. ch. 13

40. Wars of Mercia and Northumbria
Bede,
Ecclesiastical History,
bk. ii. ch. 20

innocent age of children, but with savage cruelty put them to tormenting deaths, ravaging all the country for a long time, and resolving to cut off all the race of the English within the borders of Britain." For thirty years Penda strove to conquer Northumbria. King Edwin was slain at Heathfield (633), and his successor Oswald at Maserfield (642); the missionaries from the south fled back to Kent, but others from Columba's monastery at Iona (§ 36) took their places and kept alive the flame of Christianity, while Deira was devastated by the barbarians. Bernicia, although harried by raids, clung to its independence; and finally, in the battle of Winwaedsfield, near the present Leeds (655), King Oswy annihilated a Mercian force three times his own in numbers. The north was saved to Christianity, and Northumbria was again supreme.

In the year 652 Wilfrid of Lindisfarne, a monk trained in the school of Columba, traveled to Rome, and after six years

41. The conflict of churches returned to Northumbria filled with enthusiasm over the idea of more perfect uniformity of discipline between Rome and the church in other countries: and his return precipitated the question whether the clergy of the Celtic Church should consent to become absorbed into the elaborate and complex system centering in Rome; and whether, if they should prefer not to do this, their rites and the ordinations performed by their bishops would be technically valid.

The clergy were also in doubt whether certain of their practices were orthodox. There was disagreement as to the correct method of shaping the priestly tonsure — a matter of no small importance, because the tonsure was held to be an inheritance from apostolic times, and its shape was thought to be symbolic. And again, there was disagreement as to the correct method of computing the date for Easter. The Celtic Church was using the traditional formula which it had received from the earlier missionaries; the Latin Church was using a later formula based on more thorough astronomical knowl-

edge, preserved and registered in the decrees of the Council of Nice.

To settle the question of orthodoxy, King Oswy, the victor of Winwaedsfield, called a grand synod at Whitby in the year 664. Bishop Colman, from Columba's monastery at Iona, was spokesman for the Celtic branch; Wilfrid championed the Roman claims. Oswy and his Witan (councilors or wise men) are said to have been influenced by the fear that

49. Victory
of the Latin
Church



ABBY OF WHITBY.

should they decide against Rome, which traced its claims to Saint Peter, the latter, holding the keys of heaven, would not admit them when they claimed entrance there after death. Whatever their motive, the decision was given for the Roman Church. Colman, with all his Irish and thirty of his English followers, departed for Ireland, and the English Church fell wholly under the control of Rome.

Bede,
Ecclesiastical History,
bk. ii. ch. 26

The significance and importance of this event can hardly be exaggerated. Adherence to the Latin branch of the church meant union with civilized Europe, the development of the

literature, the arts, and the systems of law prevalent on the Continent; a victory for the Celtic Church would have acted like another barbaric invasion to delay the progress of civilization in the island. Four years after Whitby, Theodore of Tarsus was deputed by the Pope to organize the Church of England in harmony with that of Rome, and the country was divided into dioceses and parishes of the type described in §§ 108, 109. The Roman authorities wisely avoided a conflict with local prejudices: Englishmen were made bishops and archbishops; the administrative divisions of the church were made to follow the lines of the English shires; and the entire organization was adapted to the conditions already existing.

Mercia quickly recovered from the disaster of Winwaedsfield. Under Penda's son she first revolted from Northumbria,

43. Pre-dominance of Mercia under Offa (758-796) and then extended her power to the south and west, while Northumbria's short-lived glory ended when her king Egfrith was defeated by the Picts and Scots at Nectansmere (685). The most glorious period in Mercian history was that covered by the reign of King Offa, from 758 to 796. By



SILVER PENNY OF OFFA, 757 A.D.

"Offa Rex." "Ethelnoth."

(Offa, king.) (The moneyer's name.)

his victories over the Welsh beyond the Severn,¹ and later by the conquest of Essex, Kent, and Wessex north of the Thames, he extended his sway over territory occupied by twenty-three modern English counties. To hold the

Welsh in check he caused the erection of the so-called Offa's Dike, a defensive rampart or earthwork extending from near the mouth of the Dee southward for a distance of nearly eighty miles, to the river Wye.

¹ It is interesting to note that while Offa was subduing the British peoples west of the Severn, Charlemagne was engaged in conquering their kinmen in Brittany.

But conquest formed only a small part of Offa's achievements. Ambitious, intelligent, statesmanlike, he did more than any previous monarch to create a unified British kingdom. He partly codified the lawa, and enforced order among both English and Welsh; he aided the growth of commerce by improving the coinage; and by closing the port of London to Frankish vessels, he forced the mighty Charlemagne (then master of western Europe) to grant satisfactory trade privileges to English merchants. Indeed, it was his perception of the importance of commerce that had led him to undertake the conquest of the states which controlled the Thames, the Severn, and the Solent. But the composite state thus created quickly fell apart when Offa's strong hand was removed.

At the beginning of the ninth century there was residing at the court of Charlemagne a Kentish prince named Egbert, who had laid claim to the throne of Wessex and had been driven into exile by his rival. In 802 Egbert returned to Britain with the countenance of both Charlemagne and the Pope, and established himself as king of Wessex. He

44. Final
supremacy
of Wessex
(827)

soon became ambitious for wider sway. By the conquest of Cornwall in the year 823, after an eight years' fight, he made safe his left flank. He then attacked Mercia; and his victories not only reduced that country to submission,

but so terrified the princes of Northumbria that they yielded to him without a contest. Their representatives met him with an embassy, and saluted him as their overlord. Thenceforth the headship of the kings of Wessex was acknowledged by practically all of the Teutonic peoples of Britain, and with this date, 827, properly begins the history of the English nation.



SILVER PENNY OF EGBERT, ABOUT 827.
"Aegbearth[t] Rex." "Werneard Monet."

On the Continent, during the period 449–827, the other migrating tribes of Teutonic stock went through a similar

45. Con- cycle of experiences, but on a larger scale. They over-
temporary threw the Roman imperial power in what is now Ger-
European many and France, but, unlike their kinsmen in Britain,
history they preserved many Roman elements in their language, laws,
and civil and social organization. As in England, one tribe,
the Franks, extended its sway over its weaker neighbors, and
it created a consolidated monarchy under the rule of Charle-
magne. Among these tribes, also, Christianity gained ac-
ceptance; but on the Continent church and state became
cemented in a union far closer than in England; for in the
year 800 the Pope created a second "Roman Empire" by
crowning Charlemagne Emperor on Christmas day in Saint
Peter's Church at Rome.

Between the years 449 and 827, Britain, like western Europe, was one vast battlefield, on which invading Teutonic

46. Sum- tribes fought first with the native races and then with one
mary another for the most valuable districts, and for political
supremacy. The Celts maintained a separate existence only
among the mountains of northern Scotland, Strathclyde,
Wales, and Cornwall. The invaders overran the rest of
Britain, and created various kingdoms, among which Wessex,
the most favorably situated for domination, ultimately became
supreme, while Kent, Essex, Northumbria, and the rest sank
to the level of administrative divisions, ruled at first by kings
who had acknowledged the king of Wessex as their overlord,
and later by officers called ealdormen.

Meanwhile heathen Britain was becoming Christianized;
an elementary political system was being evolved; and, most
important of all, there was growing up in Wessex a state strong
enough to defend the vitally important valley of the Thames
during the coming Scandinavian invasion.

TOPICS

(1) Contrast the motives and the methods of the Romans in utilizing the resources of Britain with those of the Teutonic invaders. (2) What names of English counties are evidently derived from Teutonic tribes? (3) Compare the religion of the Teutons with that of the Romans. (4) Why did the newcomers allow the Roman cities, so expensively built and fortified, to fall into ruin? (5) Do you judge that the Angles or the Saxons were the more numerous among the invaders, and from what evidence? (6) What evidence is there in Britain and on the Continent which indicates that the Angles were the more consolidated tribe? (7) Compare Hadrian's system of frontier defense with Offa's. (8) What is the derivation of Cornwall? of Strathclyde? (9) What effect did Egbert's residence at Charlemagne's court probably have on his ideas of empire? (10) Trace in the genealogical tables (pp. 73, etc.) the descent of King Edward VII. from Egbert. (11) How does it happen that the Welsh and Irish of the present day call the people of England "Saxons" instead of Englishmen?

Suggestive topics

(12) The legend of Hengist and Horsa. (13) The *Story of Beowulf* as an expression of Teutonic character. (14) The significance of -ham, -wick, -ton, -ea, -bridge, -ford, -borough, -stead, in names of English villages. (15) The Welsh myths of the Round Table in English literature. (16) How Pope Gregory became interested in the conversion of England. (17) The career of Saint Patrick.

Search topics

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CHAPTER IV.

EARLY ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS

Most of the permanent features of Anglo-Saxon civilization may be traced back to the period described in the preceding chapter. Throughout all subsequent English history the chief factors in English national life were to remain (1) the state, (2) the church, and (3) a social organization based on the possession of land. The Teutonic practice of discussing matters of common interest in "moots" was the germ from which developed the representative system of government that England has given to the world; the Teutonic councils of chiefs and "wise men" foreshadowed the privy councils, cabinets, and parliaments of modern times; the unique Teutonic device of making the monarchy elective, but only within a certain family, still prevails in the United Kingdom, over which the sovereign rules "by hereditary right *and* by the choice of the people." For these reasons, it is desirable at this point to examine in detail some of the institutions which grew up under Egbert and his immediate successors.

The basis of the Anglo-Saxon political system, as of the Norman feudal system which was later engrafted upon it, was landownership. Apparently, during the period of invasion, a portion of the land seized by a conquering tribe was reserved for the state, and other portions were allotted to individuals as a reward for their services during the conquest. The largest share, of course, fell to the king; but each warrior of noble blood received generous estates for

47. Origins
of English
institutions

48. The
state and
the land

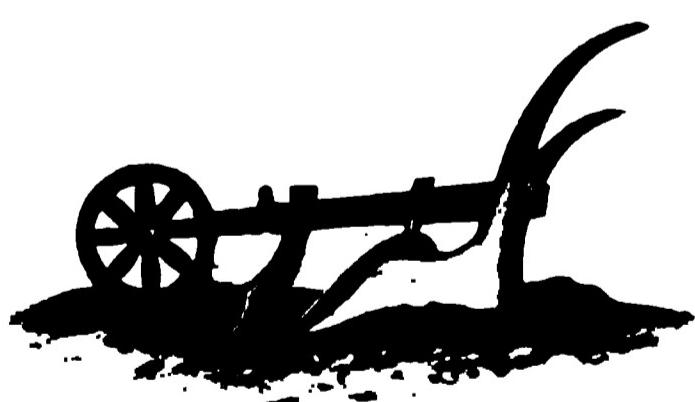
the support of himself and his followers; and each fighting freeman received an allotment proportionate either to his services or to the needs of his family. The customary unit allotment for a freeman (called a "hide" of land) was probably about thirty-three acres.

Under Egbert and his successors the bond between land and rank became very close, and definite proportions were fixed

49. Caste based upon landowner-ship between rank and landholding. (1) The gesiths, who at first lived with their chief and needed no land, now developed into a lower landed aristocracy, but they still owed military service to the king. Curiously enough, they assumed a more humble title as their dignity increased, and were now known as *thegns*, or "servants." Soon, any ceorl who held five hides of land was held to be "of thegn-right worthy." (2) The thegn who came to own forty hides might even become "of eorl-right worthy"; for the wars of supremacy had confused and partly obliterated mere distinctions of blood. (3) No one could become an ealdorman who did not hold forty hides. (4) The *ethelings*, or immediate kindred of the kings, held still larger estates. (5) The king possessed vast crown "demesnes," or estates, both for his own

support and as a source from which he might reward his followers.

(6) Below the freemen was a large non-landholding class, probably sprung largely from conquered races. Most of its members were serfs bound to labor on a



WOODEN PLOW.

From a Saxon calendar of the tenth century.

particular estate, occupying land for which they paid rent in labor or in produce; others were mere slaves.

While every lord of an estate was responsible for the govern-

ment of his domains, the affairs of the nation were in the hands of the king and his Witan (councilors or wise men). Any etheling might succeed to the throne, if accepted by the 50. Powers Witan and crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury on ~~of the king~~ his solemn oath to "govern in accordance with right and custom." In the king's hand, lay the appointment of all public servants of the nation. He regulated trade through customs duties, market dues, and monopolies, and he was in a limited way the preserver of public order and the fount of justice; yet his more important edicts had the force of law only when ratified by the "counsel and consent" of the Witan. As most public matters were settled in the various moots, many of the royal edicts were merely records and amendments of existing customs regarding fines, punishments, and the general administration of justice. Among other things, Alfred (890) legislated about treason, Edward (920) about social privileges, — for instance, scholars and enterprising merchants were made thegn-worthy, — and Edgar (959) about uniform coinage and measures.

Important actions like the declaration of war and the granting of land had to be ratified in the Witenagemote (assembly of the Witan), which included (1) the ethelings, (2) the ealdormen or eorls,— for the two classes were now becoming merged through the customary appointment of eorls to the position of ealdormen,— (3) the bishops (§ 109), and (4) the king's thegns or personal followers. The assumption of power by the Witenagemote in place of the folkmoot probably came about by insensible degrees, and for purely practical reasons. Ordinary men, though entitled to vote in the folkmoot, were loath to leave their work and journey, at some expense, to a distant meeting; hence they shirked responsibility, while the officers of church and state and the great landholders had to assume it. The Witenagemote met twice (later thrice) a year, at Easter, (Whitsuntide), and Christmas;

51. The
Witenage-
mote

but after the union of the kingdoms (827), it varied in importance, being at times the master, at times the servant, of the king.

The royal revenue consisted (1) of the king's own income from his crown demesnes, (2) of the *feorm*, or tribute paid by landholders as a condition of their tenure of the soil, **52. Public finance** and (3) of the king's share of the fines and fees collected by the royal officers of justice. The king received no salary from a state treasury, nor, indeed, was state finance in the modern sense possible, since no corresponding system of taxation had been created. The great public expenditures required in a modern state — for salaries, public education, highways and water ways, international relations, national defense, internal police, etc. — had no direct counterpart in the Anglo-Saxon system ; all of them that were then deemed indispensable were provided from the king's private purse, or through the *trinoda necessitas* (triple obligation) laid upon every landholder (1) to keep roads and bridges in repair, (2) to maintain fortresses, and (3) to do military service when summoned by the king or ealdorman.

For administrative purposes, the land was divided into shires, hundreds, townships or boroughs, and estates. The earlier shires, such as Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Middlesex, were often kingdoms which had been absorbed by more powerful states during the process of unification.

Later shires (*e.g.* Derbyshire) were districts each dominated by some fortified stronghold, and therefore erected into a shire under the government of the owner of the fortress. Each shire was ruled by an ealdorman as military leader, and by a sheriff as the king's fiscal agent and legal representative within the shire.

Several shires were frequently placed under the same ealdorman, but each had its own sheriff, through whom were issued all proclamations, summonses to the various moots, and other official communications to the inhabitants of the shire. Mat-

ters of common interest to all the inhabitants were discussed and settled through a shire moot, or meeting of all landowners in the shire, which was called twice a year (in May and in October). At these moots the ealdorman was present to declare the secular law, and the bishop to declare the ecclesiastical law.

In most shires the smaller divisions were called "hundreds," a name the origin of which is not clearly known. The hundred was governed through its hundred moot, which, in the earliest times, every head of a family was compelled to attend on penalty of a fine. As the number of inhabitants increased, each town within the hundred sent its reeve (or steward), its parish priest, and four householders to act in its behalf—an arrangement which foreshadowed the modern system of representation. In five of the shires the minor divisions were called "wapentakes" instead of hundreds.

The political units within the hundreds were the "townships," each consisting originally of a collection of tillers of the soil bound together by neighborhood and common interest. Some of these townships were governed by the reeve of the local landlord, but others gradually attained self-government under an elected reeve, and regulated their internal affairs in town moots in accordance with "by-laws" enacted by themselves. The more important townships naturally provided themselves with permanent defenses in the shape of a wall, a stockade, or a rampart and ditch, and were then known as "burghs," or "boroughs." Upon the township governments rested the responsibility of executing within their limits the decrees of the hundred and shire moots, and of enforcing the common law (§ 56) of the locality. Thus the citizens of a township learned to recognize the value of public discussion and of the free expression of opinion, and developed a sentiment of loyalty to the common law which they had had some share in creating.

The student should remember that in the time of Egbert

no national code of laws existed. The laws of the time were hardly more than precepts applicable to the simplest and most

56. The "common law" common relations of life. Ethelbert of Kent roughly codified the most important laws of his kingdom about the end of the sixth century. Ine did the same work for Wessex a hundred years later, and Offa for Mercia at the end of the next century; but their work was local, unsystematic, and fragmentary. Under Egbert's descendants, however, the elements common to all three of these codes were gradually blended into a body of customs prevailing from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel, which made up the "common law" of the land.

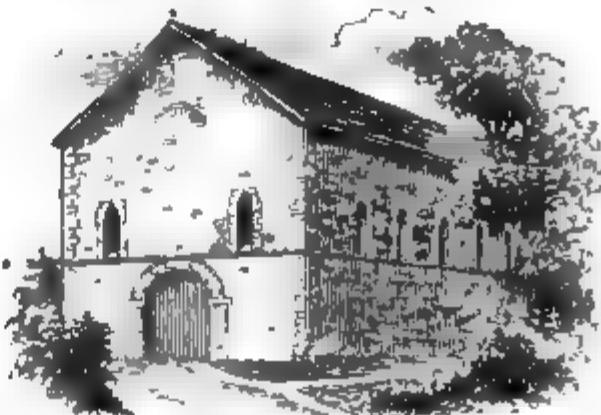
The criminal law rested upon the rude Teutonic notion of crime as an injury done to an individual or to the community,

57. Legal penalties and procedure which could be made good by suitable compensation. Its penalties therefore took the form of money payments: *wergild* (man payment) for murder, and *bōt* (reparation) for bodily injury. The wergild of a ceorl was 200 shillings, of an ealdorman 2400 shillings, of a king 14,400 shillings. The scale of *bōt* was ridiculously minute. For knocking out a ceorl's tooth it was 8 shillings, for cutting off a thumb 30 shillings, for gouging out an eye 66 shillings, 6 pence, and 3 farthings. The person charged with crime might free himself of guilt by denying it on oath in open moot, and getting twelve responsible persons to swear that his word was reliable. But the oaths of these "compurgators," as they were called, were of varying value; for an ealdorman's word outweighed that of six thegns, and the king's oath was good against all others.

If the accused could not secure compurgators, he underwent some "ordeal," or appeal to God as his compurgator. He was taken to some church, and there was compelled to walk blind-fold among red-hot plowshares, or to thrust his hand into boiling water and take out a stone. If he escaped injury, he was held to be innocent.

One of the greatest tasks of the early Christian Church in Britain was to alter the Teutonic standard of conduct and character, by teaching men that injury to others was ^{58.} A new sinful as well as criminal. The standards of Christianity ^{moral code} sharply condemned the faults most prevalent in that age and race. In a period when individuals resented any attempt to limit their freedom of action, the church stood for the principle of submission to law; in a period when every man's hand was against his weaker neighbor, it stood for the duty of refraining from aggression and retaliation. By making its churches sanctuaries, it mitigated the terrors of the blood-feud, which made no distinction between voluntary and involuntary manslaughter. It stood for the development of intelligence and of self-sacrifice, amid a society whose interests were largely material and physical and selfish. Furthermore, the monasteries, whose inhabitants labored unceasingly as woodcutters, farmers, herdsmen, students, writers, first taught the barbarians that industry is dignified; that toil, study, devotion to an end not immediately realizable, are worthy of man's pursuit.

We have already noted the general effect of the adoption of Latin Christianity in creating a connection between Britain and civilized Europe. One specific effect was the introduction into Britain of Latin as a living language, by the use of which the student in British monasteries might come to know the classic treasures of literature, of science, and of philosophy. Before the Synod of Whitby, literature was almost wholly neglected in Britain; after Whitby Latin



ST. MARY'S CHAPEL, KINGSTON.
Early Saxon type of church edifice.

59. Dawn
of English
literature

literature on religious and historical subjects developed with great rapidity through the agency of the church. To the monks we owe vivid if not accurate pictures of early English history—to the Welsh Gildas (about 550) the story of Vortigern and the Saxons; to Bede of Jarrow (673) the history of the church in England; to Nennius (750), to Asser (885), and to the monkish compilers of materials later incorporated into the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* all else that we know about the period before Alfred. It was a monk, Caedmon (d. 680), that gave to English literature its first religious poetry—a series of works treating of the creation and the fall of man and the redemptive work of Christ.

The year 827 marked the beginnings of the English nation. Political institutions combining monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements, first developed on a limited scale in the minor tribal kingdoms, now appeared on a scale truly national through the union of these kingdoms under Egbert. Under his descendants the system rapidly took form with the following as its chief features: (1) the monarch as the chief landowner of the realm, as the source of power and the enforcer of order; (2) the king's Witan as the council without whose sanction his most important functions could not be legally exercised (this was the seed of the later Great Council and Parliament); (3) several distinct administrative divisions—shires, hundreds, and townships; (4) the common law, as the standard by which the acts of monarchs, nobles, and commons were alike to be judged. The departments of the government were not yet sharply defined, and much of the public business was done in the general folkmoot; but there was a distinct tendency to delegate power to special officers and to the Witenagemote.

Meanwhile Rome, after having wholly failed to perpetuate her political and social system in the island, made a second

and far more lasting conquest of its inhabitants. The English Church, at once the servant and the rival of the secular power, proved to be an indispensable agency in redeeming the masses of the people from barbarism, and in teaching their rulers how to apply system and order to the problem of administering the government.

TOPICS

- (1) Of what advantage was it in early times to hold the meetings of the Witenagemote at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas? Suggestive topics
- (2) Compare the subjects on which Alfred, Edward, and Edgar legislated, so as to show what process was going on in the nation.
- (3) What pertinence, and what injustice, was there in Milton's calling the contests from 449 to 827 "the battles of kites and crows"? (4) Compare the position of Egbert with that of Charlemagne. (5) Show just why each class mentioned in § 51 should have been included in the Witenagemote. (6) Why should the church have been founder and patron of the earliest schools in England? (7) What possible origins can you suggest for the use of "hundred" as the name of a political division? (8) Why were the main thoroughfares of England early placed under the "king's peace"?
- (9) The meaning of the word "hide." (10) What English counties are divided into wapentakes, and why? (11) Which of the United States is divided into hundreds? (12) Modern survivals of Anglo-Saxon organization: the Chiltern Hundreds, the Ridings of York. (13) A typical early English monastery; e.g. Jarrow. (14) A comparison of the work of Milton and of Cædmon.
- Search topics

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CHAPTER V.

ANGLO-SAXONS AGAINST DANES (787-1042)

THE tumult and confusion of the first Anglo-Saxon invasions had scarcely died away under the orderly rule of Egbert, and the sea rovers had hardly become changed into ^{61. The} peaceful farmers and herdsmen, when a second series of ^{Northmen} invasions by Teutonic hordes threatened once more to desolate Britain. The new invaders belonged to a race of Scandinavian "Northmen" who, from the eighth to the thirteenth century, carried terror into every part of Europe and even into northern Africa and the Mediterranean islands.

Their assaults were due to an invincible love of fighting inborn in every son of the North, and to the physical conditions about the Baltic Sea. Those sterile lands furnished but a scanty living for a race of active and enterprising warriors, and all the younger and more energetic spirits turned naturally to piracy and conquest. Thus the bands of Northmen that from time to time harassed the coasts of Britain and the Continent were composed of the most reckless, haughty, desperate, and untamable elements among the Baltic peoples—adventurers who, having nothing to lose and wealth and glory to gain, fought with desperation and slew without mercy. "Snorro tells us that they thought it a shame and misery <sup>Carlyle,
On Heroes,
lecture i.</sup> not to die in battle; and if natural death seemed to be coming on, they would cut wounds in their flesh, that Odin might receive them as warriors slain."

The assaults of the Northmen upon Britain began with an attack on Wessex in 787. Thenceforth, for over fifty years, the

entire coast from Lands End to the Firth of Forth was scourged by repeated raids. The largest towns, Winchester, Rochester, **63. Attacks** Canterbury, London, York, did not escape. A band upon Britain would land without warning near some prosperous town, (797-850) plunder it of all its valuables, slaughter all the inhabitants that resisted, and on the approach of an armed force would take flight in its long, swift ships of war; or the horde would leave its ships, seize horses from the nearest

farms, and ride swiftly inland to despoil some wealthy monastery of its gold and silver plate, its rich altar cloths, its jeweled images. As these "Vikings" (creek-dwellers) grew bolder, they advanced up to the head of tide water in the rivers, built intrenched camps, and



A VIKING BOAT.

Found in a clay barrow in Norway, 1880; 78 ft. long; fitted for 16 pairs of oars. The owner was buried in a grave-chamber behind the mast.

then harried the adjacent country at their leisure.

Encouraged by the almost uniform success of these raids, the Northmen became more ambitious, and in the middle of

63. Danish conquests (850-871) the ninth century began a period of conquest and settlement. One horde marched across Scythia and terrorized the region about the Hellespont, another moved eastward into Russia and founded a dynasty which lasted for seven centuries, a third settled at the mouth of the Seine, others occupied Sicily and various other lands upon the Mediterranean, and still others seized upon Ireland and the smaller islands west of Britain.

Apparently these "Danes," as the English called them, made their first permanent English settlement in East Anglia, whose stout-hearted king, Edmund, chose to die rather than to

renounce Christianity and reign as their dependent. "Can not we kill you?" cried they. "Can not I die?" answered he. So they bound him to a tree and shot him to death with arrows.



MARTYRDOM OF KING EDMUND OF EAST ANGLIA, BY THE DANES.

From a MS. psalter of the fourteenth century.

East Anglia now became a Danish state under the rule of King Guthrum, and thus the Danes had a permanent base for their attacks upon the rest of Britain. In 871 Guthrum pressed southward to conquer Wessex.

The resistance offered to these incursions by Egbert's grandson Alfred, king of Wessex from 871 to 901, makes him one of the most celebrated kings in British history. In the 64. Alfred's year of his accession were fought nine pitched battles, ^{defense of} _{Wessex} and the next six years were taken up with desperate (871-878) struggles to check the raids of the Danes. Again and again did he drive them from vantage points which they had seized on the southern and eastern coasts, blockading them in estuaries and streams, storming their intrenched camps, and forcing them to make peace under most solemn engagements to withdraw from his territories—engagements which were immediately broken. Finally, in the winter of 878, the Danes

appeared in overwhelming force under the leadership of their king Guthrum, and Alfred had to retreat to Athelney, an island among the marshes of the river Parret, until he could gain time to rally his followers from Somerset and Wiltshire. Having done this, he defeated the Danish host in a pitched battle at Ethandune (Edington), by the most desperate fighting. Then, having surrounded the enemy's camp at Chippenham, he forced a surrender after a fourteen days' siege.

This double victory enabled him to obtain favorable terms with King Guthrum by the so-called treaty of Wedmore, dividing Britain into two portions by a line which (roughly stated) ran from London northerly to Bedford and then northwesterly to Chester. The territory northeast of that line as far as the Tees was conceded to the Danes, and all territory southwest of it was to be free from their incursions. As Guthrum supplemented the treaty by accepting Christianity, Alfred had some reason to hope that this agreement would be observed; but although Guthrum remained inactive in East Anglia, a Danish pirate named Hasting soon renewed the harrying process, and it was only in 895 that Alfred drove him out of England into France.

In the midst of his brilliant military successes, Alfred's mind was busy with the problems of good government. His statesmanship was shown in the adoption of a new defensive policy, which included (1) the creation of a fleet for coast defense, the forerunner of England's mighty navy; (2) an entire reorganization of the national army; and (3) the construction of strongly fortified camps at important points, held by permanent garrisons. In training



SAXON SOLDIER.
With shield and battle
ax.

seamen for the fleet of more than four hundred vessels with which he guarded his three coasts, Alfred did not scorn to learn of his enemies, employing Welsh, and even Danes, for the instruction of his sailors. In reorganizing the army, he substituted for the old untrained *fyrd*, levied only when invasion had actually been made, a system — the same in principle as that employed in France and Germany to-day — by which the fighting population underwent a training in arms by turns, one third being in camp while the rest attended to their home duties.

Alfred's ability was shown no less clearly in the direction of internal affairs. Abandoning the futile dream of universal lordship over Britain, he devoted all his energies to securing good government in his own kingdom — securing systematic justice by the codification of the laws of Ine and of Offa, replacing the earlier system of money fines by other

67. Alfred's progressive statesmanship



PORTION OF CALENDAR PREFIXED TO THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE
(ELEVENTH CENTURY MS.).

"Crist was acennyd cyniga wuldon on midne winter" etc.
Christ was born king of glory in mid winter.

penalties, and uniting with the church to make the laws of morality the basis of the legal system. He encouraged exploration and commercial intercourse with Europe, and sent embassies as far as India. He directed the compilation of the earlier portions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, to which we owe most of our knowledge regarding the Teutonic conquest of England;

he imported teachers from the Continent and created schools for his young nobles; he devoted much of his own time to writing treatises, and to translating works in foreign languages. "It seems to me better," he wrote, "that we turn into the language that we all know, certain books which are most needful for all to know."

After Alfred's death in 901, his successors restored the West Saxon supremacy in England. Alfred's son Edward

**68. Alfred's
successors
(901-940)** (901-925) forced Mercia, Essex, East Anglia, Northumbria, southern Scotland, and Strathclyde to recognize his overlordship. In the reign of Edward's son Athelstan (925-940), the Danes and Scots, assisted by Vikings from the Hebrides, formed a confederacy to throw off the yoke of Wessex; but they were defeated in a desperate battle at Brunanburh (937).

To this victory is due the fact that Britain remained fundamentally English rather than Danish.

*Battle Song
of Brunan-
burh, 937*

"There lay smitten
On the field of battle
Five young kings
Lulled by the sword;
And seven lords by them,
Earls of Aulaf;
An host untold.
Of the Fleet and the Scots
Was never more slaughter
In this island
Since hitherward
English and Saxons
Came up from the East."

Both Edward and Athelstan were able rulers, continuing Alfred's enlightened policy of internal administration, and

**69. Arch-
bishop
Dunstan
(960-988)** making England respected on the Continent; but their successors were either short-lived or incompetent, and then the direction of affairs fell into the hands of Archbishop Dunstan, the first of England's great ecclesiastical states-

men. Under his guidance the West Saxon monarchs were led to attempt a policy national rather than local. They secured a uniform standard of weights and measures throughout the island, and thus aided commercial intercourse, the most effective of all unifying forces. The main roads of England were placed under the "king's peace"; that is, his protection was extended over the highways of trade, and all crimes committed thereon were punishable in his courts. The local jurisdiction of the hundred moots was everywhere strengthened by the authority of the king. Thus the powerful earls¹ who had usurped local authority, and the outlaws who had grown numerous during the disturbances of the Danish wars, were reduced to submission.

The clergy, too, had become inefficient during these wars, and Dunstan seized the opportunity to encourage the monks at the expense of the parish clergy. He rebuilt the monasteries destroyed by the Danes, founded forty new abbeys, and installed monks over the cathedrals and larger churches. He fought earnestly to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, and to make them zealous, industrious, and temperate.

Most of these reforms were brought about during the reign of the able King Edgar (959-975). His successors were but weak rulers, and adopted the policy of purchasing immunity from Danish raids by the payment of large sums of tribute money, which were levied upon all citizens under the name of "Danegeld"—the first general tax in English history. This policy only increased the greed of the Danes, and

70. Decline
of the West
Saxon line
(975-1016)

¹ The form *earl* was being displaced by the form *earl* under the influence of the Danish equivalent term *jarl*.

led to a catastrophe during the reign of Ethelred, called the Unready (that is, "the ill-advised"), because of his lack of proper *rede*, or wise counsel. This king, after paying tribute again and again, finally resorted to the insane policy of ordering a massacre of all the Danes in Wessex on Saint Brice's day in the year 1002. To avenge this terrible deed, Sweyn, king of Denmark, invaded and laid waste the territory of Wessex *A.-S. Chron-* in the following year. Ten years of fighting followed, *icle, 1010* but "at the last there was no chief who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might; nor, at the last, would even one shire help another."

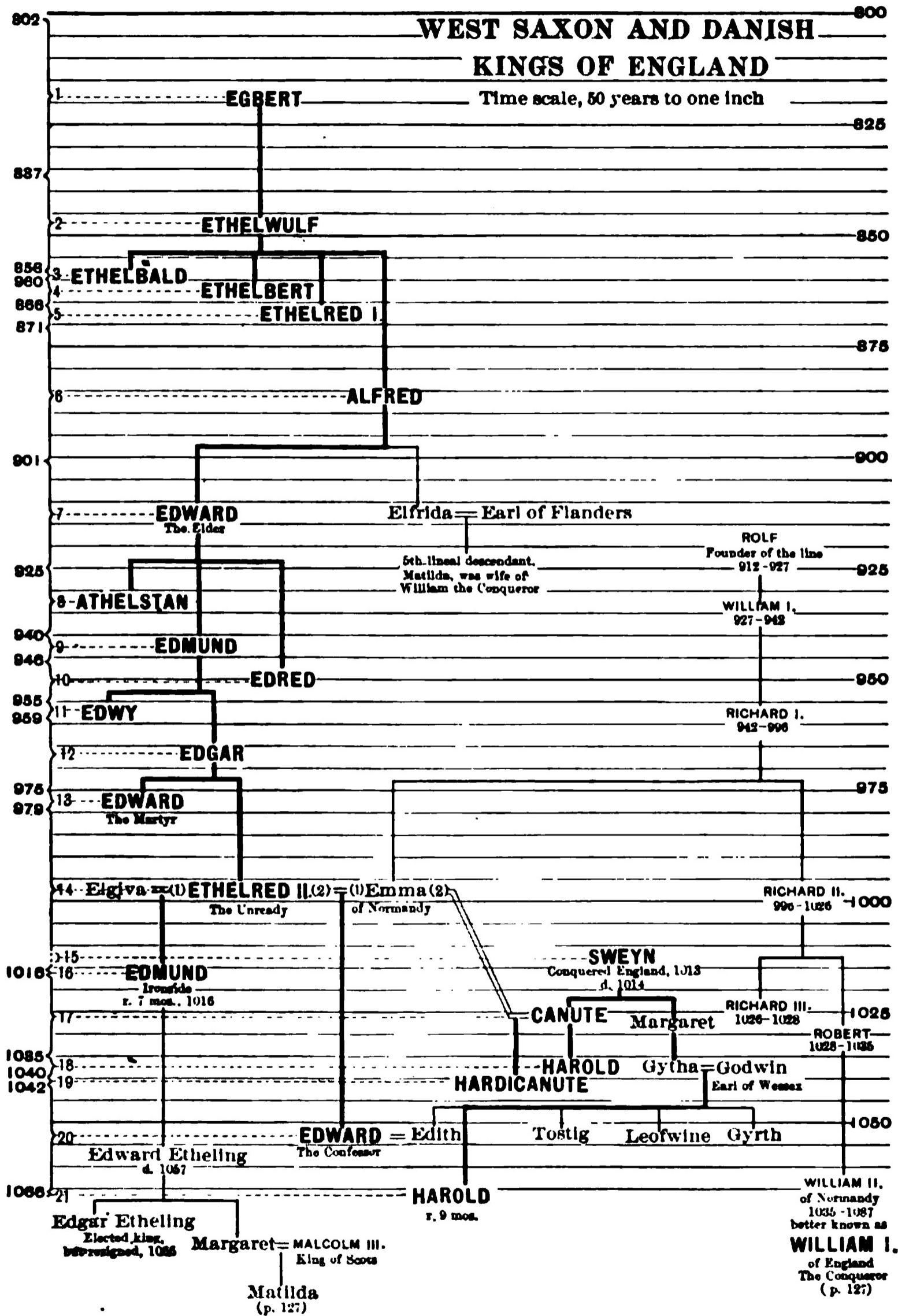
In 1013 King Ethelred fled to Normandy, the home of his queen Emma, and Sweyn became sovereign of England. He died, however, in the next year, and the Witans of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria attempted to repudiate the authority of his son Canute, and to restore Ethelred and his son Edmund Ironside to power. A long struggle ended in the disastrous battle of Assandun in 1016, when "all the English nobles were slain"; and on the death of Edmund, a few months later, Canute became undisputed ruler of all England.¹

During the long struggle of Egbert's descendants against the Danes, a most important social and economic change was being

71. Social changes (827-1000) wrought throughout rural England — namely, the growth of a landed aristocracy, at the expense of the earlier more democratic social order. In the first place, the increased size of the kingdom forced the kings to create great provinces, or earldoms, the rulers of which had to have ample territories to support their dignity, and ample powers of jurisdiction in order to preserve order. Again, the king's thegns, by whose prowess in battle his throne was upheld, received from time to

¹ In the foregoing account, the less important kings of Egbert's line have been passed over without mention; but in order that the student may view the events related in their true chronological perspective, he should examine carefully the list of English monarchs from Egbert to Sweyn on the opposite page.

WEST SAXON AND DANISH
KINGS OF ENGLAND



WEST SAXON LINE

DANISH LINE

DUKES OF
NORMANDY

time large gifts of land, with corresponding powers of jurisdiction. The smaller landholders, constantly exposed to the raids of Scots, Welsh, or Danes, often gave up their lands to the nearest thegn and thenceforth occupied them as his tenants, in return for his powerful protection. If a ceorl chose to remain independent, a single raid might sweep away all his stock, and force him to become the rent-paying tenant of some landed proprietor in return for a fresh stock of oxen, cows, and swine. Thus the order of thegnhood, based on special service to the king and extensive property in land, constantly tended to

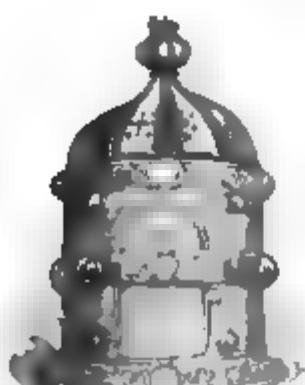
Green, Hist. of the Eng. People, I. 4 depress the great mass of simple freemen to a position of dependence. "From Alfred's day it was assumed that no man could exist without a lord. The lordless man became a sort of outlaw."

The life on a large estate, or "manor," was still very crude. The manor house of the lord was a wooden building containing but few rooms. The entrance was through a

72. Domestic life. portion set apart for the shelter of animals, and the other portions consisted of a kitchen and a great hall, used alike for dining room, living room, and sleeping room. This hall contained either a rough stone hearth and chimney at one

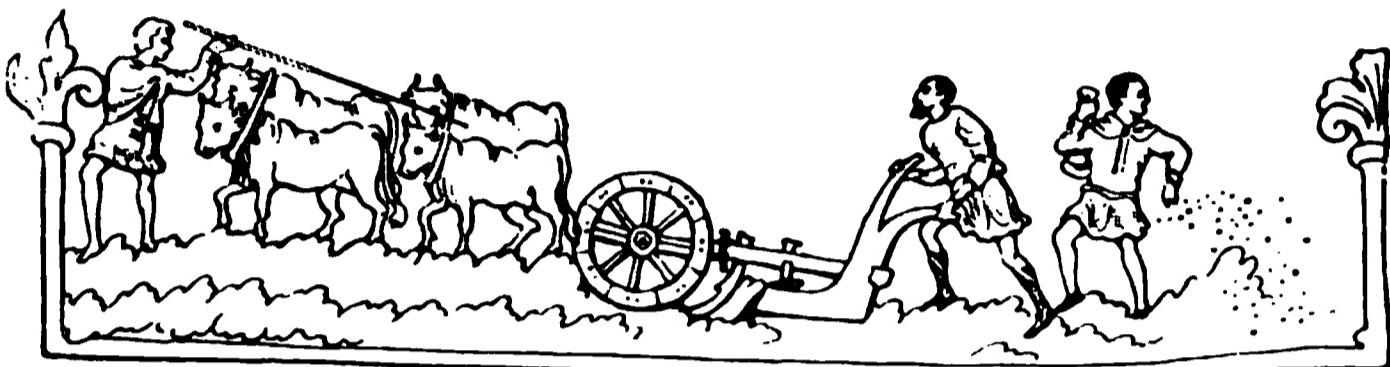
side, or a central hearth only, with a sort of cupola in the roof for the escape of the smoke. The houses of the tenants, clustered in a "vill" (village), were generally of clay or turf, and each contained but one room, used in common by man and beast. The arable fields were divided into parallel strips marked by turf "balks," and these were assigned as fairly as possible among the various tenants. The methods of farm-

ing were primitive: at least one third of the cultivated land was left untilled every year, and the remainder was plowed by the coöperative labor of the villagers, each small tenant con-



SAXON LANTERN.

tributing one or more oxen to the team which dragged the heavy wooden plow through the rough and imperfectly drained soil. The estate also contained many inhabitants who pos-



ANGLO-SAXON PLOW TEAM.

From a MS. Saxon calendar, tenth century.

sessed no cattle, but served as shepherds, swineherds, hedgers, and the like. Large strips of waste and wooded land, utilized for the pasturage of vast herds of swine, separated one manor from another.

The reign of Canute (1016–1035) includes eighteen years of prosperity, during which England formed part of his great Anglo-Scandinavian empire. This period is marked by ^{73.} Danish the rapid growth of English commerce, due to the respite ^{England} from the struggles which had so long interfered with the development of the island, and to the enterprising spirit of the Danes. Commerce, in turn, promoted the growth of towns. In East Anglia some three hundred Danish names of cities and towns indicate how effective was the colonization and settlement of that region. East Anglia with southern Northumbria formed the Danelaw, or district where Danish law in part replaced the English common law; and these with Mercia and Wessex formed the four great earldoms into which Canute divided his English kingdom. Each earl, like the monarch, maintained a large standing army of *hus-carls* ("house-men," or retainers). Canute himself at first acted as earl over Wessex, but later he raised to that position Godwin, an Englishman of remarkable abilities. Thus Wessex preserved unbroken the tradition of English nationality.

The Danish power depended for its continuance upon Canute's wise rule. At first severe in forestalling opposition,

74. The Danish kings he soon adopted a milder attitude. He respected the old and time-honored divisions of the country, allied himself with his English subjects by marrying the widow of Ethelred, and firmly bound the church to his interests by his piety and benevolence. In spite of the strictness of his *Letter to Canute's English subjects, 1027 A.D.* rule and the heavy taxes which he found himself compelled to levy, he may be said to have fulfilled faithfully his pledge, — "I have vowed to God to lead a right life in all things, to rule justly and piously my realms and my subjects, and to administer just judgment to all."

His rule was in marked contrast to the barbarities and brutalities of his two sons and successors, Harold and Hardicanute, neither of whom was wise enough to create a strong government either by statesmanship or by kindness of rule. The Witan of Wessex therefore seized the opportunity afforded by Hardicanute's death, in 1042, to restore the line of Egbert to the throne, and chose for their king Edward (called the Confessor), the son of Ethelred the Unready.

Edward had lived in Normandy since his father's flight thither in 1013, and through him a new influence from the

75. Origin of the French kingdom Continent was brought to bear upon English institutions. To make this clear we must briefly sketch the events that had taken place across the Channel during the Danish period.

Under Charlemagne's degenerate descendants his empire had become divided into warring fragments, German, Rhenish, and Frankish. In the Frankish portion, various petty states had arisen, — Francia, Gascony, Anjou, Poitou, etc., — which soon united in a loosely federated monarchy under an elective king. None of the kings, however, exerted much real authority, and none of them were able to protect the country from the raids of the Northmen. In 911 King Charles the Simple

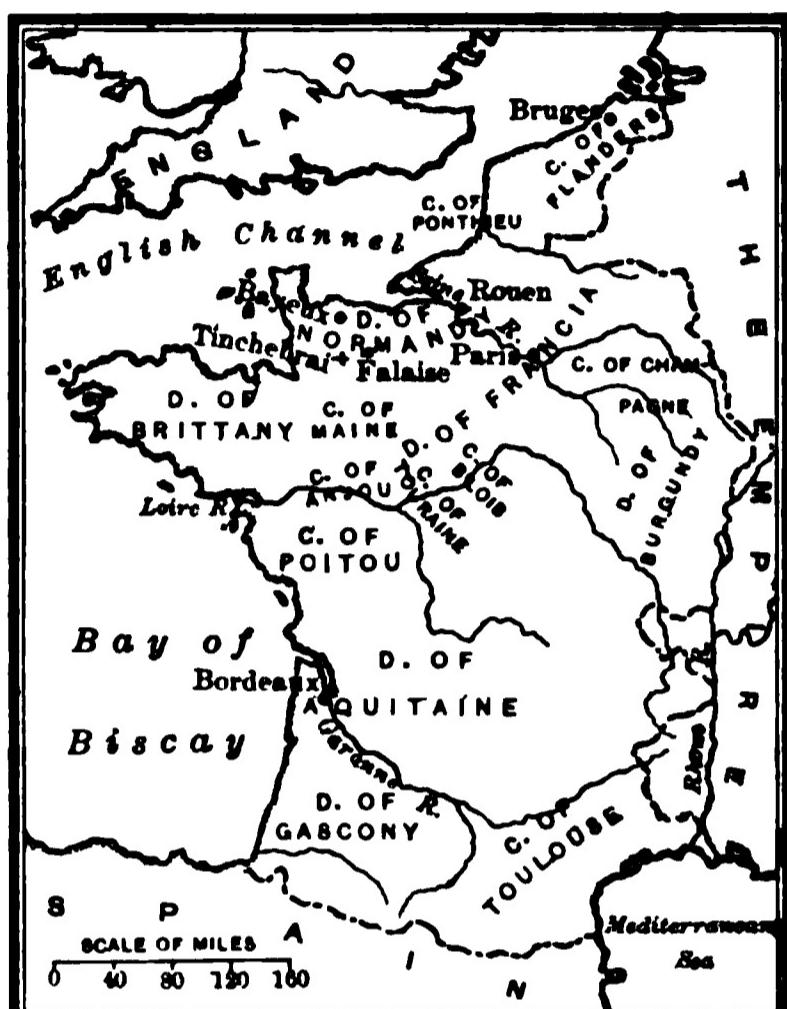
ceded to Rolf the Northman all the lower Seine valley, thus creating a new French state, the duchy of Normandy. This province was subject to the French crown under the feudal system described in § 93; but so weak was the royal authority that France long remained hardly more than a geographical expression. It was the influence of this weak, divided type of government which Edward brought with him to England.

The Danish period also saw the rise of a flourishing Scottish kingdom north of the Cheviot Hills, which was destined to be most intimately connected with the history of England. 76. *Growth of the Scottish kingdom*

The Scottish tribes from Ireland, which had gained a foothold in northern Britain about the time of the Teutonic invasion of the south (§ 35), after a long series of struggles placed one of their own race upon the ancient throne of the Picts (859). The English monarchs who succeeded Alfred greatly strengthened the kingdom thus established, by granting to various Scottish kings extensive territories north of the Tweed, reserving to England only an ill-defined overlordship.

The earlier attacks of the Vikings were directed against a poorly consolidated state, in which were to be found neither adequate military strength nor a genuine spirit of patriotism. The result was the conquest of eastern England

77. *Summary*



DUCHIES AND COUNTIES OF FRANCE
ABOUT 1066.

by the Danes; but just when the Anglo-Saxon organization seemed about to disappear forever from Britain, a defender appeared in the person of Alfred of Wessex. This great monarch not only conserved the Anglo-Saxon state and the Anglo-Saxon civilization, but also left to his successors a nation much advanced in political organization, in intellectual culture, and in ethical standards. Not long after his death, all England again recognized the authority of the native monarchs Edward and Athelstan. Then followed a period of gradual decline (retarded, however, by the good work of Archbishop Dunstan), at the end of which England was merged into the Anglo-Scandinavian empire of Canute. But the latest conquerors, now Christianized and civilized, proved worthy to carry on the work which Alfred had begun. Into the more phlegmatic Anglo-Saxon stock the Danes infused an element of enterprise, especially in commercial matters; and to this their kinsmen the Normans were soon to add an intellectual and refining influence.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) How far does the success of the Danes throw light on the effect of life in England upon the Teutonic races? (2) What defects in the military and political conditions of England invited these attacks? (3) At what times in the year would they meet with the most success? (4) Just what is meant by the phrase "Guthrum accepted Christianity," and what advantages could Alfred hope to gain from his conversion? (5) What motives probably influenced King Athelstan to grant the dignity of thegnhood to every merchant who should "fare thrice across the sea"? (6) How would this action affect social life in England? (7) Give the different reasons why it was unwise to pay tribute to the Danes. (8) State the difficulties that hampered the monarch in collecting the Danegeld. (9) Distinguish between an *eorl* and an *earl*. (10) Why was it undesirable to separate the plots of the different tenants of a manor by fences or hedges? (11) Why did not each tenant of a manor plow his own land? (12) Why was one third of the land left untilled every year? (13) What features in the early life of the Danes tended to develop their genius for commerce?

(14) A Viking craft. (15) The career of Hasting. (16) The Northmen in France. (17) The Danes in Ireland. (18) Some significant anecdotes about Alfred the Great. (19) Make a map to show the results of the treaty of Wedmore. (20) Traditions of Canute. (21) An account of a Danish foray.

Search topics

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CHAPTER VI.

ANGLO-SAXONS AGAINST NORMANS (1042-1087)

THE new monarch owed his title of "the Confessor" to his simple-minded, saintlike character. Gentle by nature, religious by training, esteemed by his followers to be a saint and seer, Edward turned his thoughts naturally toward the other world, and left his political policy to be shaped largely by more practical and efficient men. Such a man was Earl Godwin, whom Canute had selected as ruler of



PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.
Found near the battle ground of Seulac,
in 1876.

Wessex; a man of statesmanlike ability, of great wealth, of energetic, ambitious character, and of wide experience in affairs. Edward's life in Normandy made him familiar with the idea of a monarchy divided into great semi-independent fiefs,

and it was therefore natural that he should leave Godwin in possession of Wessex, and give large powers to two other earls, Siward in the north, and Leofric in mid-Britain. The conditions thus created were as harmful in England as in France, for the rivalry which later developed between the houses of Godwin and Leofric weakened England when she most needed strength.

At Edward's accession he found little that was congenial to him in his rude and uncultivated English subjects; and a

bloodless "Norman conquest" by the grasping foreign favorites who followed him to England seemed to be threatened. He placed Normans in nearly all the positions of trust, and even gave to a Norman the archbishopric of Canterbury. But Godwin, although he had seen foreign service under Canute and had allied himself with the Danish king by marriage, now championed the policy of England for Englishmen.

Unfortunately, Godwin's power for good in the land was weakened by his ambition. By heaping honors and lands upon his own sons, even when they proved incapable and untrustworthy, he weakened his popularity among the English; and the Normans at Edward's court of course intrigued against him. In 1051 the citizens of Dover mobbed a body of Edward's Norman friends who were on their way to the Continent. Godwin defended their action, refused obedience when ordered by Edward to punish them, and was outlawed in consequence. In 1052 he returned with a strong force and was welcomed enthusiastically by the Londoners, and his Norman enemies were banished in their turn. Even the foreign Archbishop of Canterbury, Jumièges, was expelled from his office to make way for an Englishman, Stigand. Godwin died a few months after his return to power. Edward turned with attachment and respect to Godwin's more genial son, Harold, made him his chief minister, and intrusted to him all the details of government.

Though Harold was a man of courage, of intellectual ability, of administrative genius, he was only "the ablest man of an unprogressive race." Under him England enjoyed a period of internal prosperity, while on the borders a series of successful expeditions resulted in the subjugation of the Welsh, whose rulers became vassals of the English monarch. It is true that, like his father, Harold employed the great earldoms as a means of aggrandizing his own family;

yet his love for justice was so great that when Northumbria revolted against his brother Tostig's tyrannous rule and deposed him in 1065, Harold supported the action of the rebels, and allowed them to receive as their earl Morkar, the grandson of Leofric.

This revolt was hardly settled before the approaching death of Edward raised the question of the succession to the throne. Some years before, Edward had given his cousin's son, William of Normandy, some reason to hope that he might succeed to the English throne. Later the weak-willed king fixed upon his nephew Edward (son of Edmund Ironside) as his successor; but the latter died in 1057, leaving only two minor children, Edgar (called the Etheling) and Margaret. King Edward then turned to Harold as the only Englishman

fit to govern the nation on his decease, and on his deathbed he named the latter to the Witan as his successor. By English custom the succession was limited to a grown son or brother of the preceding monarch, but



WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

in default of such person the Witan were probably justified in making a fresh choice. They chose Harold, as Edward had suggested; and on the same day that Harold was crowned, Edward was buried in the abbey church which he himself had founded at Westminster, just west of London.

William, duke of Normandy, who now laid claim to the crown of England, was the fifth in descent from that Rolf the Northman who won the Seine valley from the (1027-1087) king of France (§ 75). He succeeded to the duchy of

Normandy at seven years of age, and spent all his youth and young manhood in a series of struggles, first with his own unruly vassals, and later with the count of the neighboring province of Anjou. Moreover, he was compelled continually to combat the secret or open hostility of his sovereign, the king of France.

Thus by hard experience he learned the lessons of subtlety, shrewdness, deliberation, and endurance. Under his rule, Normandy became one of the most strongly governed and powerful provinces in France. "Throughout his career, we admire in him the embodiment, in the highest degree that nature will allow, of the fixed purpose and the unbending will. Utterly unscrupulous, though far from unprincipled, taking no pleasure in wrongdoing or oppression for its own sake, . . . he yet never shrank from force or fraud, from wrong or bloodshed or oppression, when they seemed to him the straightest paths to accomplish his purpose." Such was the man who, long before Harold's election, had set his heart on becoming king of England.

As early as 1051, during Godwin's exile, William visited England and obtained from the too complaisant Edward a promise that he should succeed to the crown of England. A few years later, accident gave him another advantage; for Earl Harold was thrown by shipwreck upon the coast of Ponthieu. The wily Norman secured his ransom from the count of that district (his vassal) by the payment of money and land. Harold, now completely in the power of his secret enemy, was compelled to take a solemn oath recognizing William's claims to the English throne, and was also induced to accept knighthood at his hands, probably with its attendant oath of homage and fealty (§ 93).

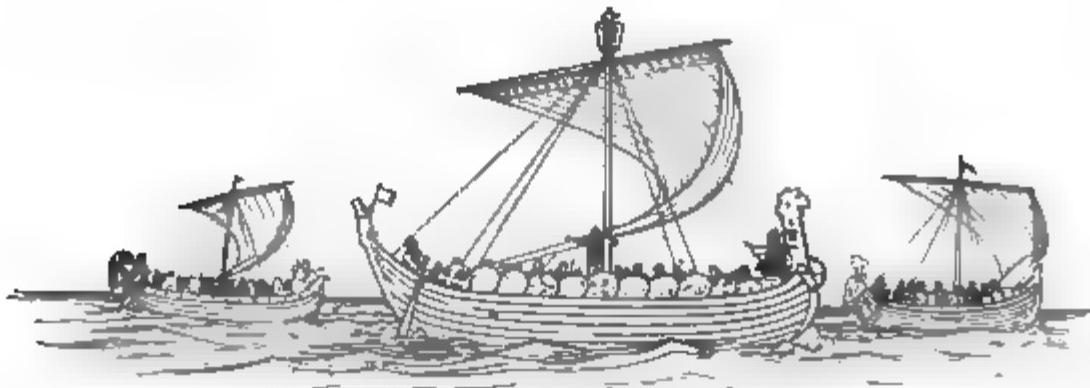
Hence William had some plausible grounds for urging his really flimsy claim to the throne of England. According to the feudal system of Europe, he asserted that he was Harold's

*Freeman,
Norman
Conquest, V.*

167

82. In-
trigues for
the English
crown

overlord ; to the friends of Edward the Confessor he quoted the king's early promise to him ; to the devout churchmen of both England and the Continent he magnified the crime of Earl Godwin in deposing the Archbishop of Canterbury, and dwelt on the sanctity of Harold's oath renouncing the crown ; to the sticklers for legality in England he could denounce the revolutionary irregular choice of Harold ; and to military adventurers everywhere he could magnify the opportunities for plunder and personal aggrandizement. By thus joining a large number of ciphers, he deluded many into believing that the result was a real quantity.



SHIPS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Restored from tapestry made in England for William's brother,
Odo of Bayeux.

In the early summer of 1066, William gathered his vassals and allies from Flanders, from Ponthieu, from Brittany, from

83. The dual invasion (1066) Sicily, and from all the other regions whither the Norman blood or the Norman spirit had penetrated, and prepared to sail for England. To meet this army of professional fighters, Harold gathered a large body of land and naval forces, mostly recruited from the tillers of the soil, and therefore untrained and undisciplined. William was delayed by the difficulty of securing transportation and supplies for his army, and by contrary winds ; so that for four months the English troops and fleet waited for the invasion which failed to come. About the middle of September, large numbers of Harold's troops

disbanded and returned to the fields to gather their over-ripe harvests, and his weakened fleet retired from the southern coast to London.

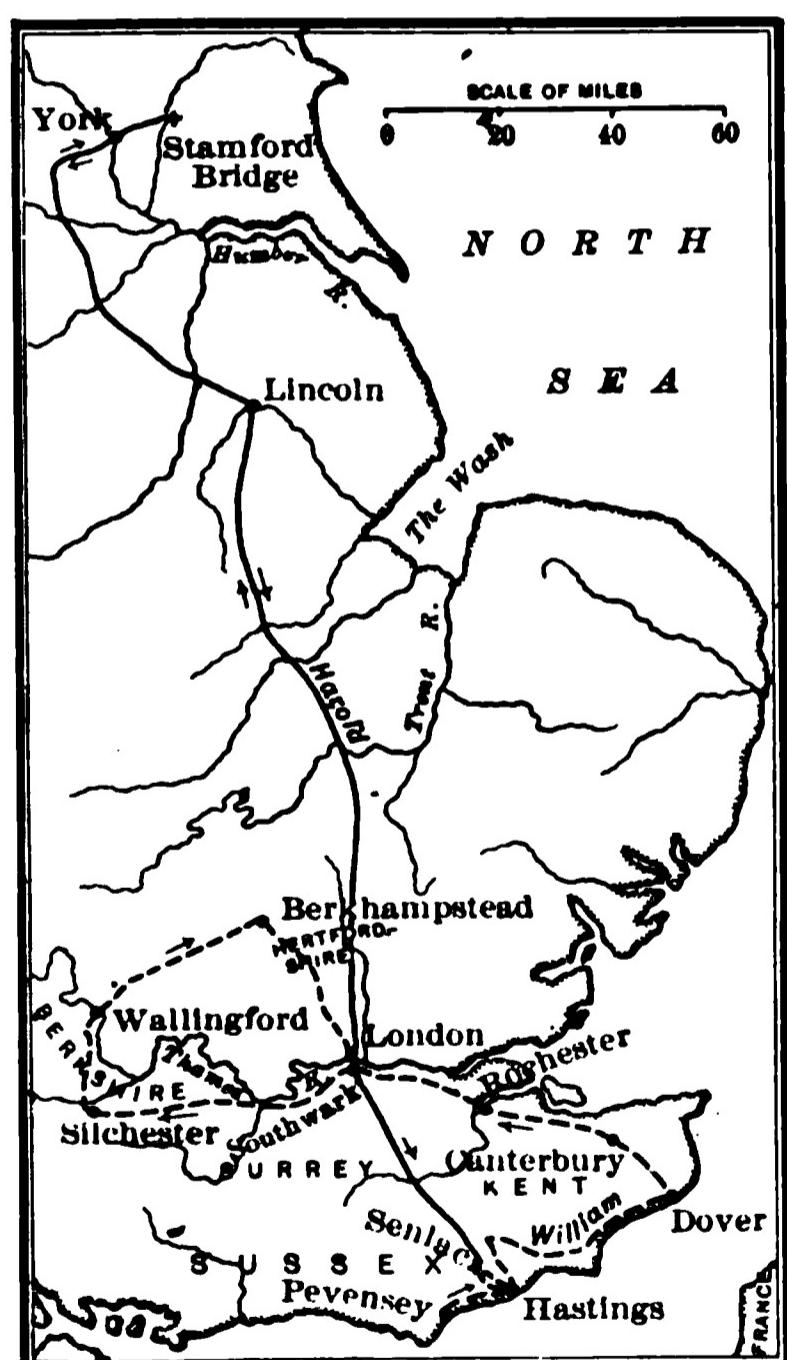
Meanwhile Harold's brother Tostig seized this occasion to recover his forfeited earldom of Northumbria, with the aid of his relative, the king of Norway. Eight days before William's landing in England, Edwin and Morkar, the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, were defeated by the Norwegian king, who sailed up the Humber and sent a body of troops to capture

York; and Harold was obliged to hurry northward at the very moment when William's landing was daily expected upon the southern coast.

By an extraordinarily rapid march, Harold reached York in time to check the advance of the invading forces. At the battle of Stamford Bridge, on September 25, the traitorous Tostig and his ally, the king of Norway, were both slain; the invaders withdrew, and Harold was free to turn south again.

84. Harold's costly victory in the north

He did not arrive in time to oppose William's landing, however, for, on September 28, the latter



HAROLD'S AND WILLIAM'S MARCHES.

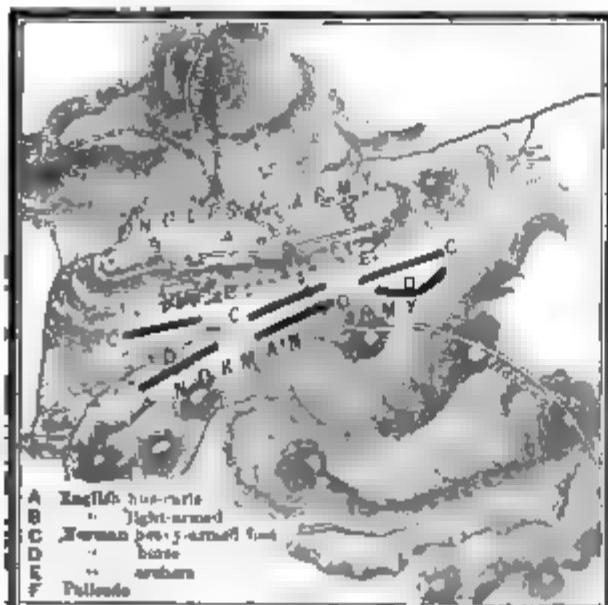
disembarked his troops at Pevensey with no opposition. William advanced northeast through Sussex with great deliberation,

so that Harold, hurrying from York and collecting forces from the southern and eastern shires as he came, was able to face him on a field (later called Senlac) seven miles from the town of Hastings on October 14. Harold's advisers urged him not to fight, but to starve William out by laying waste the country; but Harold, with true British pluck, declared that he had "been set to protect his people, not to destroy them." He therefore ranged his militia upon the crest of a ridge crossing the road along which William was advancing toward London.

At the highest point on this ridge were stationed the leaders of the host, grouped about the standard and encircled by a ring

85. Battle of Hastings, whose interlocked shields formed a strong line of defense. As the Norman forces, consisting of both (Oct. 14, 1066) cavalry and archers, advanced to the attack, they were checked by flights of javelins and stones hurled by the English; and then, as the attacking columns reached the battle

line, they met a storm of blows from heavy battle-axes that would cut off a horse's head at one blow. Although William's forces had the advantage in intelligence, mobility, and discipline, Harold's were stronger in numbers and in position, and stoutly resisted the repeated charges of the Norman cavalry up the difficult slope; but, acting wholly on the defensive, they



BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

Positions at the beginning of the battle.

were unable to inflict serious harm upon the enemy.

After the battle had lasted from nine in the morning until late in the afternoon, William's cavalry, suffering an apparently

disastrous repulse, pretended flight; the undisciplined troops on Harold's right wing broke their line of defense and rushed in pursuit of the fleeing Normans in a disorderly mob; and it was an easy matter for the Normans to turn, ride down their disordered pursuers, and make a flank attack on Harold's position through the gap thus left open. Even so, the battle remained undecided for hours, until the archers, instructed by William, directed their shafts over the heads of the line of hus-carls so that they fell into the center of the struggling mass about the king. A chance arrow pierced Harold's eye and struck him down. Two of his brothers had already fallen, and all leadership was now lost; the English broke in rout, and William remained master of the field.

It is difficult to determine whether cowardice or mere inefficiency and disunion among the English shaped the course of events after Hastings. Certain it is that Edwin and Morkar failed wholly to assist Harold during this battle, or to act promptly after his fall. The Witenagemote, too, although it immediately elected Edgar the Etheling king, made no preparations for a vigorous resistance to William. Instead of advancing upon London, the Conqueror spent several weeks in gaining possession of Kent, Surrey, Berkshire, and Hertfordshire. He thus isolated the capital and overawed the country districts.

This policy served its intended purpose. The puppet king Edgar, with his bishops and his leading noblemen, quickly lost heart and united in offering the crown to William. On Christmas day, 1066, William was crowned by the Archbishop of York in Westminster Abbey, his election having been ratified by the acclamations of the assembled multitude. Thus he was able to claim, not only that he was the rightful heir of Edward the Confessor, but also that he was the choice of the representatives of the state, of the church, and of the last heir of Egbert's line. To maintain the fiction of legality, he solemnly

86. Corona-
tion of Wil-
liam I. (Dec.
25, 1066)

repeated the ancient coronation pledges to defend the church, rule justly, make good laws, and abolish evil customs.

For four years after the battle of Hastings, William's energies were largely spent in reducing to submission the two

87. Pacifi- thirds of England which at his coronation did not
cation of acknowledge his sway. His first expedition, in 1068,
the country (1068-1070) was directed against the southwest, where adherents
of the family of Godwin were plotting against him. Following
the precedents of the English monarchy, William sum-
moned the militia (a risky experiment), overran the entire
district of Dorsetshire, and finally captured Exeter and built
there a castle to overawe its inhabitants. The reduction of
Cornwall followed immediately.

Then he turned to the north, where Earls Edwin and Morkar, aided by Edgar the Etheling, the Scotch, the Welsh, and the Danes, organized several uprisings. Three several times was William compelled to lead his forces to York during the years 1068 and 1069. The third time, he laid waste the whole dis-
trict from York to the river Tees, causing indescribable suffer-
ing. "The men who had joined in the revolt were slain.

Gardiner, The stored-up crops, the plows, the carts, the oxen and
Student's sheep were destroyed by fire. Men, women, and children
History, dropped dead of starvation, and their corpses lay un-
103 buried in the wasted fields." Then a hard winter's march
brought him to Chester, where early in 1070 the last rebellious
stronghold was taken, and the submission of the entire north
was secured. A later revolt in the fen country, under Here-
ward, "the Last of the English," and a contest with King
Malcolm Canmore of Scotland (who had married Margaret, the
sister of Edgar the Etheling) served only to show how firm was
his position.

William's policy toward his conquered subjects was a wise

88. Policy mixture of leniency and severity. As he claimed to
of the Con- be not a usurper but a lawful king, he treated as trai-
queror

tors all those who had adhered to Harold, and declared their lands to be forfeited; but the estates of those who submitted to him promptly were restored to them on payment of a fine. This shrewd policy enabled him to adjust anew the conditions of land tenure (described in the next chapter), and to raise large sums of money for his immediate needs. In cases where Englishmen remained hostile he granted their lands to one of his Norman barons and then left the new owner to make good his claims by force, thus getting rid of the burden of conquering the more remote districts.

To all the warriors of his invading host William made generous grants of land. This he could well afford to do, for, besides the lands confiscated from rebels, he held the ancient crown lands and the extensive possessions of Godwin's sons; but he took care that the tenure of land should depend upon the regular payment of dues. Grants to his followers were located almost wholly in the agricultural districts; the important towns remained permanent portions of the king's demesnes.

As William advanced through the country and reduced the various districts to submission, he seized upon every position offering important military advantages, and planted there a fortress or rudimentary castle to command the surrounding region. In every considerable town he did the same, for the purpose of overawing its citizens. Those most hastily erected were of wood, but later they were replaced with solid stone. The castles had usually two parts: (1) the keep, or tower, a massive, lofty structure; (2) clustered closely about it a group of insignificant structures of wood or rough rubble, serving for the dwellings of the garrison in times of peace. From the castle the garrison could sally forth to harry the surrounding neighborhood, on the least sign of disaffection; if attacked by a superior force, it could

89. Royal castles



THE WHITE TOWER (KEEP OF THE TOWER OF LONDON).

sieging force of the eleventh century could hope to reduce it except by starving out the garrison.

William's political and ecclesiastical reforms are treated in the following chapter; aside from these the latter part of his

**so. Close of
the reign
(1087)** reign, like his early life, was occupied with struggles to maintain his authority over turbulent vassals. He spent much time on the Continent, where the greed of his sons to share his dominions before his death led to numerous intrigues and revolts; and he returned to England only to find the men whom he had made rich and powerful engaged in plots to repudiate his authority. Curiously enough, he found that he must look to the English people for support against the men of his own race, and with their aid he again and again crushed out formidable revolts. Thus, by his wise and vigor

retire within the keep and without much danger endure a long siege.

The Tower of London, which guards the approach to the city by way of the Thames, may be taken as a typical example. The White Tower, begun by the Conqueror in the year 1078, is a massive keep about one hundred feet square, with walls of rubble fifteen feet thick. Its small and high windows and single door could be easily guarded, even if the moat and outer defenses had been taken; and no be-

ous measures, William at his death in 1087 left England a strong state, well pacified and well administered; but he

had also created what Mr. Freeman has called "one of the most tremendous tyrannies on record." As a contemporary put it: "he caused castles to be built and oppressed the poor. . . . He was given to avarice, and greedily loved gain. . . . The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them; they must will all that the king willed if they would live, or would keep their lands, or would hold their possessions, or would be maintained in their rights.

Alas! that any man should

STATUE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.
At Falaise, his birthplace.

so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all!"

England became independent of Danish control under Edward the Confessor in 1042, but it suffered greatly from quarrels between Edward's foreign friends and his native advisers, and also from jealousies that sprang up among the natives themselves. The loosely organized kingdom therefore became an easy prize to the strong arm of William of Normandy, who rewarded his followers with its richest and fairest estates. By these and other measures William gave to English institutions the impress of Continental feudalism. The work of the Teutonic pioneers from the Baltic shores was



done; and the gentler southern civilization influenced by Roman tradition henceforth shaped English development. Yet though England was changed, she was not transformed! The enduring force of the Anglo-Saxon character was shown in the partial continuance of the English language, the English common law, English territorial divisions, and English political institutions. Furthermore, the work of Alfred and of Dunstan, and the broadening effect of intercourse with the enterprising Danes, helped the English people to receive and absorb without violent change the more advanced civilization of the Normans.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) What national change is suggested by the fact that Edward the Confessor removed the seat of government from Winchester to Westminster? (2) What advantages could Pope Alexander II. hope to gain, by espousing William's cause? (3) Did the battle of Hastings illustrate the law of "the survival of the fittest"? (4) Cite other examples of victories won by pretended flight. (5) Can you account for the inefficiency of the Witan at this period? (6) How would William's conception of the rights of a king differ from Harold's? (7) What grounds had Tostig's ally for invading England? (8) Indicate, with the aid of a topographical map, why castles were placed at Hastings, Dover, Exeter, Norwich, Bristol, Winchester, London, York, and Lincoln. (9) Why were the Cambridgeshire fens the latest district in England to be conquered? (10) Was Hereward a true patriot?

Search topics

- (11) Earl Siward and Malcolm Canmore as depicted in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. (12) Description of Westminster Abbey. (13) The story of Harold's oath to William. (14) The Bayeux tapestry, and its value to historians. (15) The relation of Cornwall to the English crown since the days of William I. (16) Trace in the coronation ceremony of King Edward VII. the remains of the ancient election of a monarch by the Witan. (17) Archers in battle. (18) William's fleet.

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Illustrative works



CHAPTER VII.

THE FEUDALIZATION OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS

(A) THE FEUDALIZED STATE

For at least three centuries before the Norman conquest all the political and social institutions of western Europe tended to shape themselves according to a common model, known as the feudal system. As we have seen, English institutions early felt this tendency in the tenure of land and in the authority exercised by landowners over their tenants; so that the influence of the Normans was sufficient to bring about the feudalization of state, church, and society alike. The feudal system was partly a device for securing public order at a period when the king's authority was still weak and no national judicial system existed; partly a levy of a standing army for national defense; partly a convenient substitute for money rents and money taxes; partly an expression of man's natural tendency to exalt physical strength and attach himself to a leader. The system was not fully developed in England until a century after the conquest, but for clearness of description we shall group here all its parts as they were developed on English soil under the Norman kings.

Under the feudal system the monarch was in theory the owner of all the lands in the realm. "The battle of Hastings was looked upon as a settlement of all the estate in England, not even excepting the estates of the Church. No man could hold an acre by an ante-Norman title. All were obliged to seek the king and to buy their lands." Most of these lands were by him "granted" in large blocks to individuals on condition that they rendered

92. English institutions (1087)

93. Suzerain and vassal Morgan, England and the Norman Occupation, 21

to him three things: (1) homage—that is, public acknowledgment of the fact that the land was received as a grant for which service was owed, and not as a free gift; (2) fealty—that is, loyal adherence to the interests of the giver; (3) service—that is, assistance to the monarch in certain stipulated ways.



SEAL SHOWING ACT OF HOMAGE.

Twelfth century.

The chief of these was military service, and in general the grantee was expected to furnish a "knight" (mounted warrior) for every "knight's fee" (five hides of land). The lands thus received, called "fiefs," were said to be "held of" the grantor, as "suzerain." The recipient, called the "vassal" of the monarch, received

from him a title (earl, baron, etc.) varying with the amount of territory and the degree of the dignity conferred. If any vassal refused to perform any of the services above mentioned, his lands were forfeited to the donor. At the death of any vassal his lands by right reverted to the monarch; but it was customary, if the vassal left a male heir, to invest that heir with the vassal's lands. Any vassal with large holdings was at liberty, by "subinfeudation," to grant portions of his lands to vassals of his own, and thus there arose the two classes of "tenants in chief" and "mesne tenants," or tenants of tenants.

The most obvious effect of this feudal system was to create a large military aristocracy, and to make fighting power the

94. Effect of feudalism on society chief measure of a man's political and social importance. As William I. had about 600 lay tenants in chief, and they had about 7400 mesne tenants, and as the lands held of William I. amounted to 60,000 knights' fees, it was certain that there would always be some thousands of men in England trained to the profession of arms, owning war

horses and a complete outfit of armor and weapons, and ready to assemble promptly at the call of their sovereign, on penalty of losing both property and honor. Such a body was more than a match for any mass of untrained, unorganized civilians, fighting, as they must, on foot and without effective weapons or armor. The military supremacy of the armor-clad horseman explains why the barons, with their bands of armed retainers and their castles as a base of operations, kept whole districts in subjection, even when their rule was unbearably harsh.

Along with military importance, a vassal acquired high social distinction: he was subject to an elaborate system of initiation into knighthood; he recognized a strict code of honor; associations or orders of knights were established which became noted for their wealth, military prowess, chivalric conduct, and social prestige.

In France this system proved faulty because the king's vassals were too few, and their fiefs were correspondingly large. Each duke or count (as the vassals were called) was so powerful that he could make private war at his own pleasure, and defy the will of his suzerain whenever he chose, strong in the support of bodies of knights owing allegiance only to him. William had seen the evils of this system in Normandy, and he was determined that the Continental principle, "vassallus mei vassalli non est meus vassallus" (my vassal's vassal is not my vassal), should not prevail in England. Hence arose the first unique element in English feudalism, the paramount obligation of all landholders to the monarch.

William first ordered a systematic survey of all the landed estates in England south of the Tees (1085), to learn the amount of taxable property in the country, and the corresponding services due to the crown. "So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor—it is

95. English
and Conti-
nental
feudalism

96. Domes-
day Book
and the
Salisbury
Law
A.-S. Chron-
icle, 1085

shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do — was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, that was not set down in the accounts." The results of this survey were recorded in the celebrated Domesday Book, which gives to the historian invaluable information in regard to the population, the organization of the state, and the distribution of territory among the people at the time of the conquest.

Tempore S. Edw. regis factum est hoc iugum Oxfordie
prædonio / gable / omib. aliis cœsuccidinib. pannū
regi qdem. xx. lib. / v. sextari' mellis. Comiti u Algaro
x. lib. adiuncto molino quē infra ciuitatem habebat.
Quando rex ita in expeditione: burgenses. xx. ibus
cū eo p oīnib. aliis. uel.. xx. lib dubiū regi. ut om̄e cōfūlibi.

BEGINNING OF THE DOMESDAY BOOK ENTRY FOR OXFORD.¹

Then, having summoned all the landowners to a national moot at Salisbury in August, 1086, he demanded an oath of fealty directly to the crown. Then came "all his Witan A.-S. Chron- icle, 1086 and all the landowners of substance in England, whose vassals soever they were, and they all submitted to him and became his men, and swore oath of allegiance to him that they would be faithful to him against all others." Thereafter no landholder in England could aid in a struggle against the crown without being guilty of perjury and treason.

William further safeguarded the authority of the monarch by making the number of his vassals very large. He sub- 97. William's mul- liam's multi- divided the few great earldoms already existing, so ticipation of fiefs that no such great noble houses as those of Godwin and

¹ Translation: "In King Edward's time, Oxford paid to the king for toll and gable and all other customs yearly £20 and six sextaries of honey. Moreover, to Earl Algar £10 in addition to the mill which he had within the city. When the king went on an expedition, 20 burgesses went with him for all the others, or they gave £20 to the king that all might be free."

THE FEUDALIZATION OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS 99

Leofric might arise to threaten the power of the monarch; and he distributed the holdings of the more powerful barons through various sections of the country. For example, his half-brother, Odo of Bayeux, was given four hundred and thirty manors, but they were distributed through seventeen different counties. Thus William's great vassals were able to maintain many small bodies of troops for use in his wars, yet were prevented from creating large, well-organized armies.

In one respect only was this policy departed from. On the western "marches" (borders) William created two large earldoms, Chester and Shropshire, the rulers of which exercised almost sovereign powers within their own domains, and he permitted the Bishop of Durham to exercise similarly extensive powers in his see; — whence Chester and Durham later became known as "palatine counties." The reason for this policy was that in those remote districts an especially strong government was needed to preserve internal order and to protect the kingdom from the raids of the Scots and the Welsh.

Limitation of the power of the king's vassals was the more necessary because with the feudal holdings of land went important powers of government. In a modern state, the ^{98. Feudal} work of making laws, applying them to particular cases, jurisdiction administering and enforcing them is given over to officials — legislators, judges, governors, police officers — most of whom are elected or appointed to do this work, and devote their lives to it as a profession. In the feudal state, these duties fell to the holders of fiefs, every one of which was, as it were, a little state where one man held most of the offices. To this man the king looked for feudal dues and military service proportional to the size of the fief; to him he looked for the preservation of order on his lands; and he therefore gave him ample powers of jurisdiction, including "sac and soc," or the right of holding courts and levying fines, over all persons residing upon his lands.

In this matter of local jurisdiction, William reduced the powers of his nobles below those of the French peers, using

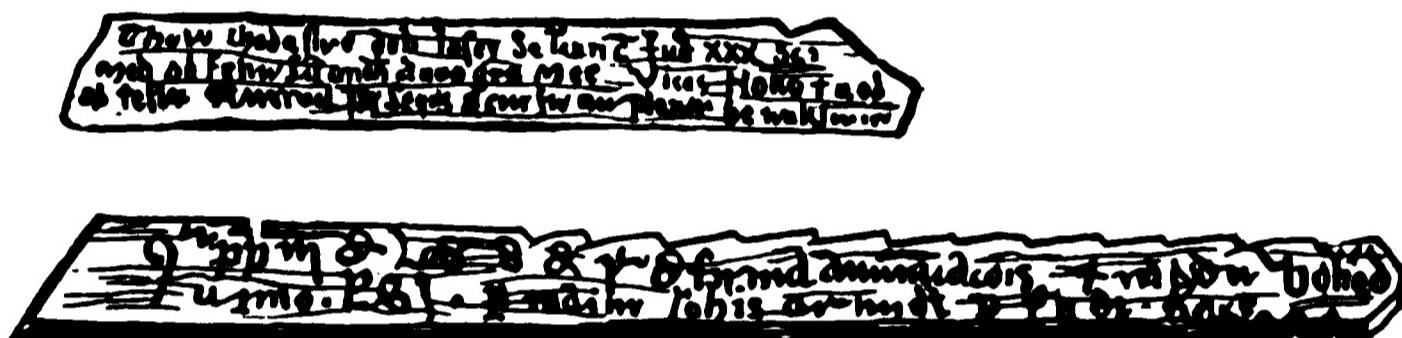
99. Fusion of Saxon and Norman elements for this purpose the older Anglo-Saxon machinery of government. Reserving the dignity of "earl" as a general thing for the lords of the marches, he governed the midland shires through sheriffs, whose dignity, not being hereditary, could never become dangerous to the crown. By retaining the customary hundred and town moots for local business, he limited the authority of the barons and yet left them strong for military service. By retaining the English common law as the standard in these moots, he made it easy for the people to accept the new order of things, and thus lessened the excuse for severe government by the barons.

Some changes in existing laws were necessary, to adjust the relations of Normans and Englishmen. For example, in criminal cases, the accused was permitted to choose between the old English ordeal and the newer Norman "trial by battle" with his accuser; and a special law was passed to punish the treacherous or violent maltreatment of Normans by Englishmen. Nevertheless, the old English constitution persisted beneath the feudal veneering; and this mixture of Saxon democratic elements with Norman aristocratic features forms a second distinguishing mark of English feudalism. The nomenclature which sprang up after the conquest illustrates this happy union: the sovereign preserved the English title of "king," not the Norman title of *roy*, but his council became a "Parliament" instead of a "Witan"; the administrative divisions were called "counties" as well as "shires," but their chief officers were "sheriffs," not *viscontes* (viscounts).

One important element in the Saxon state, the Witenage-
100. Development of the "King's Council" mote, disappeared with the advent of Norman feudalism; for the king was now in theory an absolute monarch, requiring no control or advice save that of his vassals assembled as a *Magnum Concilium*, or "Great Council."

But a successor to the Witenagemote soon appeared; for minor landowners cared little to attend the meetings of the Great Council, where only the rich and the powerful feudal chieftains could speak with authority, and where the monarch was surrounded by a group of advisers skilled in the political science of the Continent.

Since the Normans used seals on public documents, a practice till then unknown in England, William had always at court a Chancellor, or keeper of the king's seal; a Treasurer was



EXCHEQUER TALLIES

Notched sticks were split, and payer and payee took each a half as evidence of the transaction.

needed to care for the hoard which the Norman kings laid away for emergencies; William's transformation of the Danegeld into a permanent land tax forced him to develop an "Exchequer," or treasury department; and the increase of the king's authority led to the custom of appeals from the decision of the baronial courts, and thus to the appointment of a Supreme Justiciar. It is not surprising that these officers, together with other permanent officials like the king's marshal, his steward, and the two archbishops (of Canterbury and of York), soon assumed such wide powers as to make it unnecessary to assemble the Great Council frequently, and that they early became organized into a permanent *Curia Regis*, or "King's Council." The chief duties of the Curia Regis — which was in theory only a committee of the Great Council — were (1) to frame legislative measures for ratification by that council, (2) to supervise the subordinate government officials, (3) to assess and collect the

king's revenues, and (4) to decide appeals to the king's justice. The development of this system was of course slow, but its rudiments all existed during the reign of the Conqueror.



RUINS OF LUDLOW CASTLE, ON THE WELSH MARCHES.

Built in 1090. Norman type of architecture.

(B) THE MANORIAL SYSTEM

The feudal institution which had most effect upon modern English life was perhaps the "manor"—a political, industrial, and social unit from which in many cases was developed a town or a city. With these manors the face of England was checkered after the Norman conquest, although many of them were of earlier origin. Each manor was a separately managed estate, forming part of the domains of some baron (tenant in chief), or of the king. Naturally its boundary lines tended to follow the boundaries of some older estate, township, or parish (§ 108).

101. The
manorial
system

The baron had upon each manor at least three classes of

tenants: (1) fighting men, who held by "tenure of knight-service" and by whose aid he fulfilled his military obligation to his suzerain; (2) "freemen," or "soke men," voluntary tenants who paid only a small fixed rent, but were subject to the jurisdiction of his courts; (3) the "villeins," who were "bound to the land" of their lord. Those who held by "privileged tenure" could not be expelled from the land by the lord, paid to him only a specified rent, and performed only specified services; those who held their land by "base tenure" were tenants at will only, and "knew not in the evening what was to be done in the morning." Some held no land, but were employed as household servants, being virtually slaves.

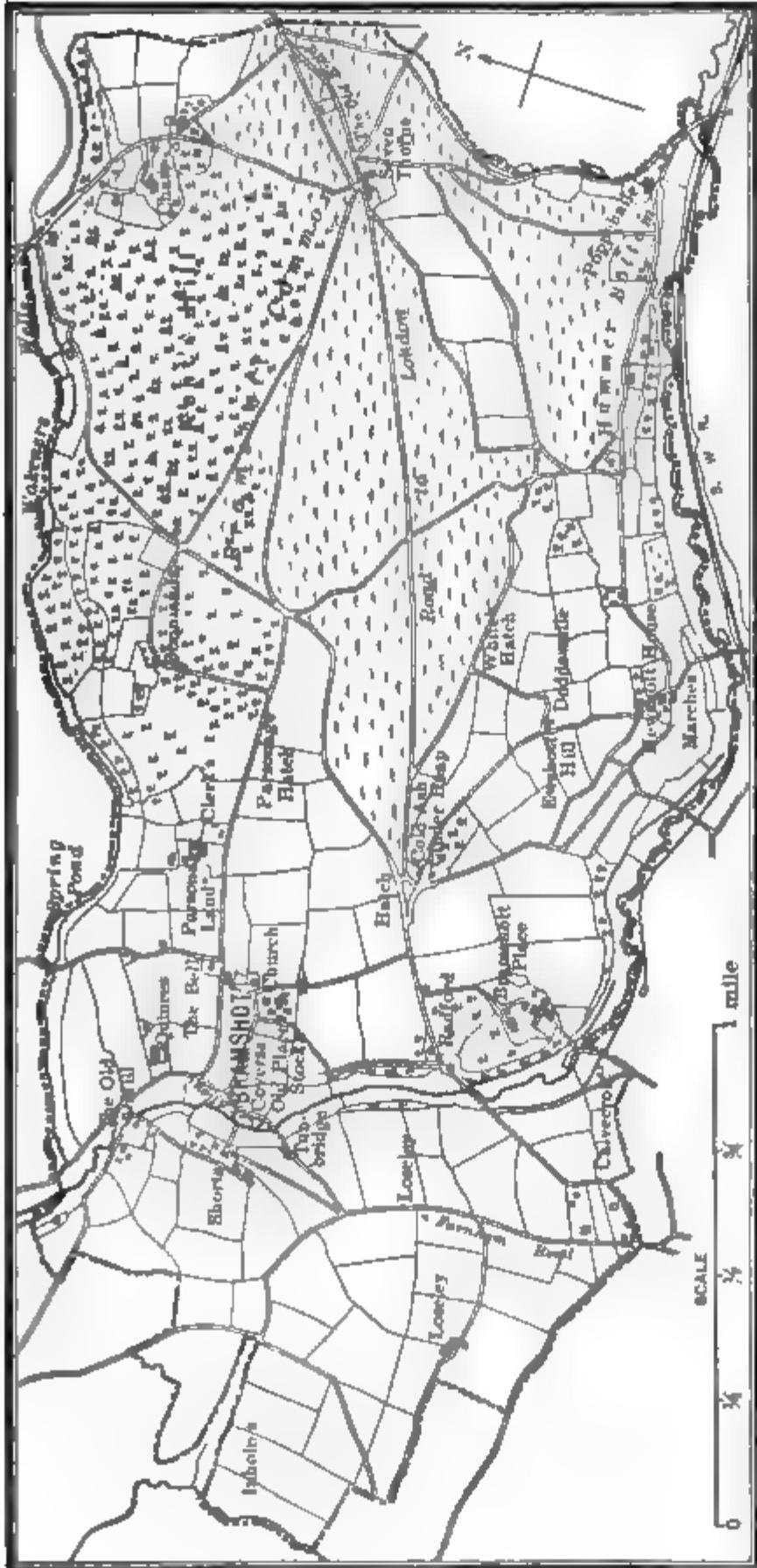
As dispenser of justice, the lord of the manor held in his manor house at stated times several kinds of manorial courts, among them (1) the "court-baron," in which disputes in regard to services due from tenants were settled by examination of the "rolls," or records kept by the bailiff; (2) the "court-leet," in which the military force of the manor was reviewed twice a year and criminals were tried. Unjust tolls, poaching, brawling, scolding, larceny, and drunkenness were the chief offenses, punished by light fines which went to swell the income of the lord. His jurisdiction of course included the right to assign lands to his tenants, and to enforce all the services due him as lord of the manor. Without the consent of his lord no villein tenant could sell any portion of his live stock, alienate (transfer to another) any portion of the land assigned to him, give his daughter to any person in marriage, or permit his son to be ordained to the service of the church.

In each manor about half the arable land was set apart as the "demesne lands" of the lord. The rest was divided into (1) "closes," or fenced fields, each set apart for a special crop; (2) meadow lands devoted to the raising of hay; (3) "commons," or pasture lands where the herds of all

*Bracton,
De Legibus
Angliae*

103. *Manorial courts*

103. *Indus-
tries of the
manor*



BANBROTT MANOR, IN HAMPSHIRE, SHOWING ANCIENT FEATURES.

According to Domesday Book, Bramshott Manor was one of 33 manors held directly of the king by Edward of Salisbury; it had at that time 13 villages, and land for 5 plow teams. Old Place was the original manor house. Bramshott Place was a later manor house. Loeley = loose (sheepfold), lea (field). Calvecroft = croft (small inclosed field) for calves. Chase = game preserve. Down = hill pasture. Hatch = gate, from cultivated into forest lands. Holms = flat lands. Tun = town. Poppe-halle, Doddes-welle, Seven Thorns, etc., show how the memory of ancient landmarks and of original settlers is perpetuated in local names.

THE FEUDALIZATION OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS 105

the tenants roamed and fed, under the care of herdsman; (4) waste lands, where turf and brushwood might be gathered; (5) forests, where swine were pastured; and (6) the holdings of the individual tenants of the manor. The free-holders might hold any amount of land; the class of villeins called *cotsetlas*, for instance, had holdings of five acres each, for which they paid rent by working for the lord of the manor one day a week all the year round and three days a week in harvest; another class, the *geburs*, held thirty or forty acres each, stocked with two oxen and one cow and six sheep, as well as with tools for work and utensils for the house; these did proportionately more work for the lord.

The work of the manor was carried on under the supervision of a reeve or a bailiff, who assigned strips in the wheat field, the barley field, the oat field, the bean field, in different years to different tenants; and who set aside portions of land to lie fallow and recover their fertility. He directed the work of plowing, sowing, reaping, etc., for which the villeins furnished oxen and manual labor in proportion to their holdings; and in general he was the responsible director of all the organized activities of the manor.

"Wel wiste he by the drought, and by the rain,
The yelding of his seed, and of his grain.
His lordes shepe, his nete,¹ and his deirie,²
His swine, his hors, his store, and his pultrie³
Were holly⁴ in this revès governing."

Chaucer,
Canterbury
Tales,
Prologue

The principal buildings on a manor were the parish church and the manor house; the former located at a central point, the latter on the most picturesque or commanding site. For some centuries after the conquest, the manor houses were rude buildings of wood or rubble, and contained but few rooms, including a hall, a chamber for the lord of

104. Do-
mestic life
on a manor

¹ cattle

² dairy.

³ poultry.

⁴ wholly.



HUNDRED MEN'S HALL, NEAR WINCHESTER.

Showing central open fireplace,
without chimney.

was covered only with rushes, and it contained little furniture except stools and the great table, at which the entire household dined four times a day during the brief period when the lord was in residence. "They roam with a train of followers

*Warner,
Country
Life in the
Middle Ages* from one estate to another; there is a great bustle of preparation; a few days' stay consumes the produce stored up during the year; then they go on to the next manor, and the country-side sinks back to its accustomed quiet."

The freeholding tenants, of course, dwelt on their own farms. In a

105. Mano- row of rude houses, grouped
rial vil- along the main road through
lages the manor and forming a little
village, dwelt the villein agricultural
tenants and the few artisans (the
miller, the wheelwright, the black-
smith, the armorer, the carpenter,
the weaver) attached to the estate.
The homes of the villein tenants

the manor, a kitchen, and cellars. In the great hall was a fireplace, the smoke from which escaped through a "lantern" (a sheltered opening in the roof). In rare cases there was a roughly made and leaky chimney, but never a stove. The earth or stone floor of the hall



VILLEIN.
From a MS. *Life of Christ*,
twelfth century.

THE FEUDALIZATION OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS 107

were one-storied cottages, with thatched roofs, unglazed windows, and earth floors. Their life was extremely hard as measured by modern standards; their food was coarse and poorly cooked; their clothing was designed for a covering, without thought of adornment; and they often shared their one-roomed cottages with the animals that they owned.

In manors favorably situated for trade or handicraft, might be found also a few merchants, and possibly a few craftsmen, the nucleus of an industrial community, which might later become a free town (§ 148). A contemporary writer describes the development of such villages as follows: "In the said manor are two towns, one called Over-Combe, in which reside the yeomen who are occupied in the culture and working of the land which lies on the hill; and the other called Nether-Combe, in which dwell the men who use to make cloth, as weavers, fullers, dyers, and other tradesmen."

Many military tenants and freeholders paid only nominal rents: a hound, or a falcon, or a piece of armor, or candles for the parish church, or a pound of some rare substance like pepper. The villeins paid beans, hens, honey, eels (for water rights), and furnished service in hauling or cutting wood, harvesting grain, plowing the lord's land, making fences or thatches, and many like tasks. The artisan (for example, the miller or the smith) usually paid a small sum in silver.

Almost the only sources of income for the lord of the manor were the rent of his lands and the crops raised on his own demesne fields. Of these products a part was used in the maintenance of his crowd of retainers, his chaplain, and his menial servants; the rest was disposed of by his bailiff at the market, generally held weekly in some neighboring town, or at the fairs held annually in more remote parts of the country. Thus small sums of money were procured, but so scarce were gold and silver that, in the few cases where rents were paid in money, the annual rent rarely

*William of
Worcester,
Chartulary*

108. Financial system of the manor

exceeded sixpence an acre. One shilling in silver would purchase an ox, and fourpence a sheep.

The income of the king was very large. To the Conqueror (William I.) "one thousand and sixty pounds, thirty shillings,

107. Na- and three halfpence were returned, day by day, from the
tional just revenues of England, without including donations
finance and pardons and manifold other resources." Allowing
Ordericus Vi- *talis, IV. 7* for the historian's inaccuracy, we can not reckon this
at less than a million dollars a year in modern currency.
The only portions of this sum which could properly be called the revenues of the state were the proceeds of the Danegeld (which William I. revived as a land tax, and fixed at sixpence a hide), and the king's share of the fines levied in the shire and hundred moots. All the rest of his income the king held practically in his own right, and he was expected to live, as the phrase went, "of his own." He received (1) rents from the royal demesne, which at the Domesday survey (§ 96) included 1422 manors and many royal towns; (2) property falling to him through escheats and forfeitures; (3) receipts from the sale of the "royal fish" (whales and sturgeons) which might be taken upon the coast; (4) "profits of jurisdiction" derived from fines levied on offenders, etc.; and (5) the "incidents" of sovereignty, of which the chief were as follows: (a) when a vassal died, his son paid the king a fee called a "relief" for receiving his father's holdings; (b) when a vassal wished to dispose of land to another person, he paid an "alienation" fee for the privilege; (c) on the death of a vassal, his minor children became wards of the king, who received the profits of their property until they became of age; (d) female wards had to marry whomever the king chose, or pay a fine; (e) when the king's son was to be knighted, or his daughter was to be married, vassals were called upon to contribute an "aid" towards defraying the attendant expense.

(C) THE FEUDALIZED CHURCH

The organization of the church was such that it could adapt itself readily to feudal conditions. The unit of ecclesiastical organization in England was the parish, which was usually a single village or township, containing the parish church, under the charge of a clergyman ranking as rector, vicar, or curate, according to the wealth or importance of his charge. Whenever a clergyman was made rector of a parish, he was said to be "invested" with a "benefice," or living. He was then in the eye of the law an "endowed corporation," enjoying (1) the "temporalities" of the benefice, including the church edifice, the churchyard, the parsonage, and the glebe, or land set apart for the support of the church; (2) the "spiritualities," including the revenues due him as a servant of God

(“tithes” and income from religious endowment), and the right to conduct religious services and perform religious rites in that parish. Like the temporal fiefs, all these rights were bestowed by a superior, were held in virtue of certain duties to be fulfilled, and lapsed to the grantor on the death of the incumbent.

Parishes were grouped into dioceses, each constituting the “see” of a bishop, who supervised the parish clergy. This official usually chose for his residence the leading town in his diocese; and its parish church, in which was



BISHOP WITH STAFF
(CROSIER).

From *Ordinum Habituum*, an ancient Dutch pamphlet.

placed the bishop's throne (Latin *cathedra*), acquired the dignity of a “cathedral church.” With the growth of the population in the diocese, the cathedral church became ex-

ceedingly important. An ample edifice was needed for elaborate ceremonials, and for meetings of the clergy ; and the many special services called for the support of the "canons," a large number of clergymen organized into a corporate body called the "dean and chapter" of the cathedral.

Lastly, the sees of the bishops were grouped into two "metropolitan provinces," under the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York respectively, the former ranking as primate of all England.

In this organization the monasteries held a unique place because of their numbers, their wealth, and the influence ex-

**110. Mon-
asteries** erted by their officers. Besides those of ancient foun-
dation, twenty-six new ones were founded under the Conqueror and his successor. All were great landowners. Their abbots (or heads) ranked with the bishops as barons of the realm ; their officers sat with the other clergy in a church legislative assembly called Convocation ; and their tenure of lands was affected by the general feudal conditions prevailing. But the monasteries were largely independent of the authority both of the local ecclesiastics and of the monarchs ; for they were governed by the superior officers of their order, who in many cases were responsible only to the Pope. Thus the monasteries stood in less close relation to the state, and for that very reason, after a period of prosperity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were ultimately left behind in the march of progress.

The church organization, as a whole, was in very close relations to the state. The monarch appointed or influenced

**111. Rela-
tions of
church and
state** the selection of archbishops, bishops, abbots, etc. These officers held their estates on feudal terms, and sat in the Great Council. Every English subject was a member of the church, every resident in the parish was bound to contribute yearly to its support a tithe, or tenth, of the produce of his lands, and the church applied a "civil," or ecclesiastical.

law, which within its own sphere had the same binding force as common law. Again, in "vestry" meetings of the parishes, much of the town business was transacted, including the appointment of constables, "way wardens" (road commissioners), and the like. On many manors, too, the lord had the sole right of "advowson," or "presentation to the living," which still further tended to confuse religious and secular matters. Moreover, as the clergy were the only educated class in the community, brilliant ecclesiastics were constantly called upon to act as advisers and ministers of the crown. From the accession of William I. until the reign of Edward III., every chancellor and every justiciar was a churchman of high rank.

Nowhere were the strength and wisdom of William the Conqueror more clearly shown than in his attitude toward the church. Pope Gregory VII. (d. 1085), whose ambition was to make the Pope something like a universal suzerain over suzerains, demanded that William should do homage to him for his crown, and pay certain sums already long due to Rome; but the Conqueror declared stoutly that he would "give what the kings before him had given and no more." To prevent encroachments on his rights as monarch, he declared (1) that whenever there should be two rival claimants for the papacy, he should have the right to determine which should be recognized within his kingdom; (2) that no servant of the king should be excommunicated without the royal sanction; (3) that no papal bull should be



THE TITHE BARN, GLASTONBURY.
Showing influence of church architecture
on other buildings.

112. Ecclesiastical changes at the conquest

promulgated in his kingdom until it had been inspected by the king. Again, he held churchmen strictly to account in matters non-ecclesiastical. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who was charged with misgovernment during William's absence on the Continent, pleaded that he could be punished only by the ecclesiastical authorities. William replied, "I do not seize a clerk or a bishop; I seize my earl, whom I set over my kingdom."

At the same time William gave to the English bishops very greatly increased powers in their own field. Bishops' courts were created for the trial of cases in which either clergymen or offenses against church law were concerned; and the church received a more centralized organization. In particular, under the advice of Lanfranc, whom he brought from Normandy to be Archbishop of Canterbury, he gave the see of Canterbury definite precedence over its sister see of York, thus bringing the entire Church of England under a single administrative head.

The Norman conquest converted all landowners in England into holders of land by grant from the sovereign; it greatly enlarged the king's demesne lands, and brought the self-governing towns under his immediate jurisdiction; it checked the tendency toward the development of powerful principalities within the state; it caused the disappearance of the Witenagemote by absorption into the Magnum Concilium, and by the transference of some of its functions to an administrative machine, the Curia Regis. Thus the conquest itself determined that English institutions should be permanently feudal in form, and such measures as the Domesday Book survey and the Salisbury Law made this feudal state strongly centralized and efficient. Hence it results that all English landowners to-day are in theory direct tenants of the crown; that the number of landowners is relatively

113. Sum-
mary

small, whole villages being still owned by a single individual, and that as the "gentry" and the "nobility" they wield a powerful influence on political and social life. To the same period may be traced the feudalization of the church because of its large holdings of land; and the consequent close union of church and state in local and national politics. Thenceforth the church, with its special legislative body, its special laws (based not on English but on Roman models), its great wealth, its able leaders, and its moral influence, exerted a dominating influence over the entire public life of the nation.

TOPICS

- (1) Why did William's barons allow him to curtail their privileges? (2) What title is borne by the wife of an English earl, and what does it indicate in regard to his rank as estimated in land? (3) Why was not the power of the palatine rulers in Durham and Kent as carefully restricted as that of the rulers of Chester and Shrewsbury? (4) Why was Salisbury a suitable location for the important national moot of 1086? (5) What features of the domestic life of this period made against refinement of taste and manners? (6) Was there any justice in requiring that all grain raised on a manor should be ground at the lord's mill? (7) Why were bee keepers to be found on every manor? (8) Enumerate the advantages which tenants, widows, and wards derived from their lord, as a compensation for their state of dependency. (9) To what special class of landowners were water rights especially valuable? (10) What evils were fostered by the system of presentation to benefices? (11) Enumerate the advantages possessed by a cathedral town. (12) How could a bishop fulfill his military obligations to his suzerain? (13) Compare the food of a villein of the twelfth century with that of a modern laborer. (14) Contrast in the same manner his ordinary dress, in materials and style, with that of a modern laborer. (15) In what ways was the feudal military system wasteful?
- (16) Sac and soc. (17) The effect of the Norman conquest in southern Scotland. (18) Significance of the law of Englishry. (19) William and the forest laws. (20) A description of Domesday Book. (21) The right of presentation to benefices in the nineteenth century. (22) The origin of the crown jewels of England.

Suggestive topics

Search topics

(23) Trace the status of the different residents on a manor mentioned in the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. (24) Norman and Anglo-Saxon sports, as illustrated in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

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CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLAND UNDER THE LATER NORMAN KINGS (1087-1154)

It is not to be supposed that the followers of the Conqueror, who had hoped to carve out for themselves in England counties and duchies like those in France, accepted without protest the novel feudal limitations imposed by William. In the century which followed the conquest, the great Norman landholders struggled hard to exalt the power of the baronage at the expense of that of the monarch. The palatine earls, in particular, often took advantage of their position and their privileges to defy the authority of the king. In this contest between the lower Continental and the stricter English types of feudalism, the instinct of the English people to seek liberty through order rather than through anarchy finally gave the victory to the champions of centralization.

The Conqueror left his domain of Normandy to Robert, his eldest surviving son, and named his younger son, William Rufus (or "the Red"), as his successor on the English throne. During William II.'s reign of thirteen years, England suffered from the misgovernment of a headstrong, violent, and grasping monarch. So wicked in his private life that at his death he was buried without religious services, naturally violent and rendered still more harsh by the rebellions of his Norman-English nobles, by quarrels with his brother, and by controversies with the kings of Scotland, Wales, and France, William Rufus is remembered chiefly for his acts of tyranny.



NORMAN FOOT SOLDIER.
With coat of mail made of rings quilted on cloth, style of eleventh century.

These acts took the form of excessive taxation, in which the fiscal machinery created by his father was employed to wrest from his vassals the largest possible sums of money, so that some of his subjects complained that they "would rather wish to die than to live under his tyranny." Aided by an able but ruthless justiciar, Ranulf Flambard, he exacted the feudal dues of relief, wardship, and marriage with extreme severity. He summoned twenty thousand men to rendezvous at the coast for an expedition into Normandy, and then seized the money they had brought for passage and sent them home penniless. He not only sold appointments to

benefices, but even kept important ecclesiastical offices vacant for long terms of years in order to enjoy their revenues himself. The archbishopric of Canterbury was thus left vacant for a period of four years. When he finally was frightened by sickness into appointing Anselm, a Norman monk, to the vacancy, the latter at first refused to be "yoked to England's plow with a king fierce as a savage bull." Anselm finally accepted the office, but was soon forced to leave England for Rome, where he remained until William's death in 1100. William's harsh forest laws, and the death penalty which he im-



NORMAN SPEARMAN.
In full suit of mail made of square plates quilted on cloth or leather, style of eleventh century. From an ancient MS. psalter.

posed for their non-observance, are remembered because he met his death while hunting in the New Forest. Whether due to treachery or to accident, this fate seemed to his subjects a retribution for his tyranny.

William's elder brother, Robert, should now have succeeded him, but Henry, a younger brother, took advantage of Robert's absence on the First Crusade, and, hastening to Winchester, secured from the barons there present his own election to the kingship, gained possession of the royal treasury, and proceeded to fill the offices with his own friends. In contrast with his brother's reign, that of Henry I. stands out as a period of good government. Born in England, educated like a churchman, gifted by nature with a wise and stable character, he atoned for his hasty seizure of the crown by thirty-five years of good rule.

Henry began his reign by issuing a charter, which is extremely important because up to this time the royal powers of the Norman kings were never formally defined; thenceforth the people had the king's written acknowledgment of certain limitations upon his own authority.

In the charter, Henry restored the laws of Edward the Confessor wherever they had fallen into abeyance; promised to archbishops, bishops, abbots, barons, earls, and wards of the crown freedom from unjust exactions; granted remission of debts; forgave past crimes; and guaranteed order in the future.

In its pledges against certain forms of arbitrary taxation, against tyranny over vassals or the church, against violation of the "laws of the land," and against oppression of mesne tenants by the baronage, this charter contained by implication all that was vital in the later Magna Charta (§ 170). Later, Henry won the favor of the church by recalling to England Anselm, the able Archbishop of Canterbury whom William Rufus had exiled; and he attached to himself the hearts of

116. Henry
I. (1100-
1135)

117. Char-
ter of
Henry I.

the English people by marrying Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland and Margaret of England (pp. 73, 127).

Except at the beginning of his reign, when his brother Robert disputed his right to the crown, England enjoyed under

118. Henry's reforms Henry a needed peace. A strong hand was required, however, to curb the headstrong ambitions of his more powerful vassals. Henry brought charges of treason against their leader, Robert, Earl of Shrewsbury, seized his castles on the Welsh border, and drove him into exile in 1102. He followed this up by banishing and fining several other unruly earls, and thus crippled the power of all the greater earldoms created by his father.

He then undertook the promised reforms in administration, in which he was aided by his great justiciar, Roger of Salisbury. William Rufus had allowed the barons to usurp many of the powers of local government; Henry gave them back to the hundred and shire "courts," as the moots were now called. He encouraged suitors who failed to get justice in these courts to appeal to the Curia Regis at Westminster, and also induced the great barons to do the same instead of deciding quarrels by private warfare or judicial combat. By the advice of Roger of Salisbury, he organized the members of the Curia into a Court of the Exchequer, to deal only with fiscal matters, and sent these "Barons of the Exchequer" on circuit to assess the sums due to the king. In 1124, also, he sent out a deputation from the Curia Regis which began the system of royal control over criminal justice. In Leicestershire alone

A.-S. Chronicle, 1124 these judges "hanged more thieves than had ever been executed within so short a time, being in all four and forty men." By the common people, grateful for the restoration of order, Henry was hailed as the "Lion of Justice."

Just at this time the subject of the "investiture" of bishops

119. The question of investiture and abbots was becoming a burning question on the Continent: the Pope claimed the right to invest them with

the symbols of their offices, because of their ecclesiastical dignity; the monarchs claimed the same right because bishops were temporal rulers. The question was in truth complex and far-reaching: the obligations of the bishops to the church were paramount; yet they were among the largest landholders, many of them kept large bodies of vassals in arms, and under feudal conditions it was essential that such powerful subjects should be under the control of the sovereign.

On the other hand, the sovereign was very likely, if unrestrained, to appoint to these important positions favorites who had not the proper intellectual and spiritual qualifications. In 1074 a synod instigated by the fearless Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) issued its ultimatum upon the subject: "If any one henceforth receives from the hand of any lay person a bishopric or an abbey, let him not be considered an abbot or a bishop. . . . If an emperor, a king, a duke, or a count . . . presume to give investiture of any ecclesiastical dignity, let him be excommunicated." In 1099 a council called by Pope Urban II. laid a curse upon all ecclesiastics who even took the oath of fealty to a lay sovereign.

On the accession of Henry I., he required Archbishop Anselm to do homage for the temporalities attached to his office. Since Anselm had taken part in the church council of 1099, he submitted to be again exiled rather than to obey Henry; but the king was of a different temper from William, and at last came to an agreement with the archbishop. Bishops were thenceforth to be elected by the cathedral chapters, instead of being selected by the state authorities; but the election was to be held at the court, under the supervision of the king. The bishops thus elected were to do homage to the king for their temporalities, since thus only could his feudal rights be safeguarded; but they were to be invested with the ring and the staff, the symbols of spiritual authority, only by the representatives of the church.

During the eleventh century many reformed monastic orders were founded on the Continent, and after the conquest

131. Growth of monasticism (1100-1150) scores of monasteries for monks or nuns (called abbeys, priories, or subpriories, according to the rank of their governing officers) were founded in England. These abbeys at once became the intellectual centers of the age.

They sheltered in their guest houses alike the king on his royal progress, the knight, the traveling merchant, and the

roving beggar, and thus gathered and disseminated every kind of information. Their carefully managed estates served as object lessons in thorough and skillful farming. Upon them rested the entire burden of public charities. The monks aided education and literary culture by copying manuscripts and making historical compilations. To the industry of Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who completed an *Historia Anglorum* about 1135, we owe most of our materials for constructing a history of the times; to the monks of Peterborough is due our

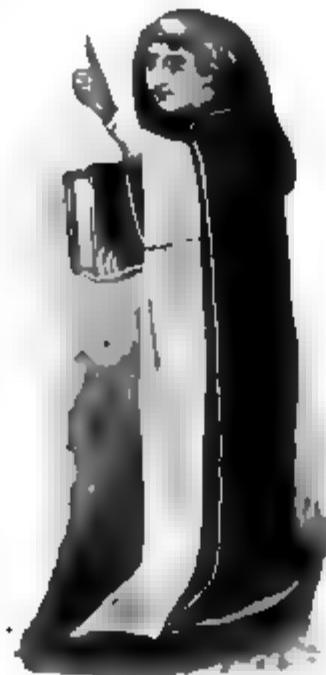
most nearly complete copy of the

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

The Crusades caused the development of a kindred movement in the foundation of semi-religious orders of military

132. Worldliness of the monks knights, the Knights Hospitallers in 1104, and the Knights Templars in 1118. By their wealth and their close organization these bodies gained great importance

both in England and on the Continent, and they soon became worldly in spirit. More important for England were the Cistercian monks, who appeared there in 1128; beginning



MONK OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

From the Harleian MSS., British Museum.

as a purely charitable body, they soon gained for themselves almost a monopoly of the flourishing wool industry.

The monastic corporations were always disliked by the secular clergy, because they showed their independence of the local authorities. They soon became wealthy through the gifts of the pious, and their officers had great influence in political matters.



A KNIGHT TEMPLAR.
With mantle to protect armor from the heat of the tropical sun.

Much of Henry's time was spent in repeated quarrels with his brother Robert, and war broke out between the two in 123. Second "personal union" of England and Normandy (1106) 1104. Normandy was invaded; in the battle of Tinchebrai, 1106, Robert was captured and imprisoned; and Henry became Duke of Normandy. After this he was obliged to spend much of his time upon the Continent, defending his domains against the attacks of the king of France, and of his neighbors the counts of

Flanders and Anjou. His absence weakened the force of his earlier reforms, and left England with no defense against the turbulent barons.

Henry was anxious that his daughter Matilda should succeed him, and bound his barons by three successive oaths to recognize her as their sovereign at his death. Unfortunately 124. Stephen's usurpation of the throne (1135) for his plans, Matilda was living on the Continent, having married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou; while her cousin Stephen of Blois was living at the English court. Stephen was popular, while Matilda's cause suffered from the hereditary hatred of the Normans for Anjou. Henry's plan therefore failed. He died suddenly while resisting an uprising in Normandy in 1135; and while Matilda and her husband were taking possession of Henry's Norman domains, Stephen secured the support of the city of London,

won over the barons at the court in Winchester, and induced his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, to put him in possession of the king's treasury, containing £100,000. Meanwhile, on the news of Henry's death, England blazed into disorder. The great state officials, dreading the effect of a woman's rule under existing conditions, determined to support Stephen, and he was immediately crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The nineteen years of Stephen's reign were filled with the strife which usually follows a disputed succession. Matilda

1135-1154) at first had no champions except her own relatives; character of Stephen's rule Stephen, on the contrary, had many adherents, for he was personally brave, and as yet gave no indication of those faults which made him so unsuccessful as a ruler. However, he soon showed his lack of administrative ability, and by degrees his unwise and ungrateful acts lost him the good will even of those who had placed him on the throne.

As Stephen began to see that he was losing ground, he showed himself still more tactless than before: by greedy demands for money he soon alienated the clergy, his warmest supporters; he quarrelled with his justiciars, and thus cut down his revenues. To win supporters he created many new earldoms, endowing them with estates from the demesne lands of the crown, with pensions paid directly from his purse, or with the fines levied within their earldoms—all measures which lessened the royal income. He then attempted to recoup himself in part by debasing the coin of the realm, and thus injured the great and growing merchant classes. Since the new landless earldoms could not furnish many fighting men for his armies, he antagonized his English subjects by bringing into the kingdom mercenary troops, whose wages added to his already severe financial burden. The result was taxation beyond the power of the people to bear.

While internal affairs were thus disorganized, Stephen was constantly called upon to resist the friends of Matilda, including her uncle David, the king of Scotland, and the earls ¹¹³⁶ ~~Strug-~~ of Gloucester and of Hereford. In 1138 the Scots were ^{gle for the} repulsed at the Battle of the Standard, near Northal-^{crown} lerton; but Stephen was compelled to buy peace by granting the county of Northumberland to David's son to be held as a fief. In 1139 even the justiciar, Stephen's own brother (the Bishop



NEWARK CASTLE.

Built by the Bishop of Lincoln during the reign of Stephen.

of Winchester), went over to Matilda. It would be fruitless to follow the contest in detail. For three years Matilda's cause was in the ascendant; Stephen was for a time a prisoner in 1140, but in 1142 the tide turned, and Matilda's fortunes again declined.

The actual struggles of the two contending armies had less effect upon England than did the endless quarrels and the invasions of personal rights indulged in by individual barons under cover of the war. Every petty lord built for himself a castle or stronghold in the strongest position on his domains.

Heiresses were abducted, manors were sacked, their owners were held for ransom, towns were raided and burned. "If three men came riding into a town, all the inhabitants fled." Is it any wonder that the helpless victims of the rapacity and cruelty of the feudal classes came to believe that (in the words of the chronicler) "Christ and his saints were asleep"? After eighteen years all parties concerned were exhausted; and the church seized the first opportunity to mediate between the contestants.

This opportunity came upon the death of Stephen's only grown son; and the Treaty of Wallingford (November, 1153)

**127. Com-
promise on
Henry Plan-
tagenet
(1153)** put an end to hostilities. Matilda was ambitious rather for her children than for herself, and Stephen was broken by age and misfortunes, especially since the recent death of his son Eustace, to whom he had hoped to transmit the crown. It was therefore agreed that he should rule until his death, and that the crown should then descend to Matilda's son Henry, now a young man of twenty years. The other terms of the treaty were directed toward undoing the evils wrought during the period of anarchy. Stephen, aged more by care and trouble than by disease, died within a year, leaving the crown and the duty of promoting these reforms to Henry II., the first of the English line of Plantagenets.

The sixty-seven years from the death of William I. to the accession of Henry Plantagenet in 1154 cover the reigns of

**128. Sum-
mary** the Conqueror's sons, William Rufus and Henry I., and of his grandson Stephen. Two of the three reigns were marked by tests of strength between sovereign and vassals — the tenants in chief aiming to destroy the centralized system created by William I., and thus to secure for themselves irresponsible powers such as were enjoyed by the princes of France and Germany. This state of affairs was due partly to the character of the monarchs, and partly to their deter-

mination to rule both England and Normandy. The attempt to hold and govern both regions resulted in a feeble hold upon each.

Of the three monarchs, only Henry I. showed genuine statesmanship, and because of the weakness of his successor, only two of his acts produced lasting results. His settlement of the question of investiture left the church in a strong position, freed from undue control by the state; and his grant of a charter served as a precedent for similar grants by later monarchs. These charters, first conceived as grants from an individual sovereign to his subjects, and therefore terminating with his life, came in time to be constitutional documents embodying the rights of the people by "immemorial custom"—in the eyes of an Englishman the strongest possible authority.

TOPICS

(1) What modern conditions would make it easier for one man to rule Normandy and England now than in the twelfth century? Suggestive topics

(2) What important obstacles would still exist? (3) Show why the possession of the royal treasury was especially important to Henry and Stephen. (4) Estimate the approximate value of Henry's treasure to-day, and explain the decrease in the purchasing power of money. (5) Define and describe a charter, with reference to its source, its purpose, its operation, its revocability. (6) Compare the status of one of Stephen's "fiscal earls" with that of an earl created by William I. (7) Mention several reasons why Henry's selection of Matilda as his successor was unwise. (8) Show how and why the coinage would become debased during the period of anarchy.

(9) Explain the significance of Henry I.'s titles, (a) The *Lion of Justice*, (b) Henry Beauclerc. (10) The relations between Anjou and Blois, and their effect upon English history. (11) The forest laws; their purpose and their operation, beneficent and harmful. Search topics

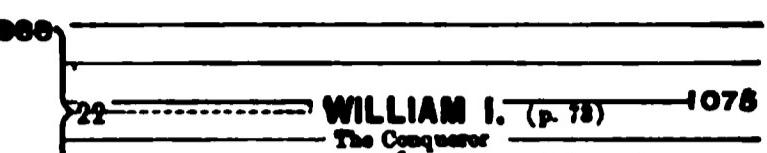
(12) The extension of the king's feudal rights under William Rufus. (13) The character and career of Anselm. (14) The struggle over investiture on the Continent. (15) The value of a twelfth-century manuscript, and the reasons therefor. (16) The story of the *White Ship* of Henry I. (17) Life in a mediæval abbey. (18) A brief history of "the Temple," in London.

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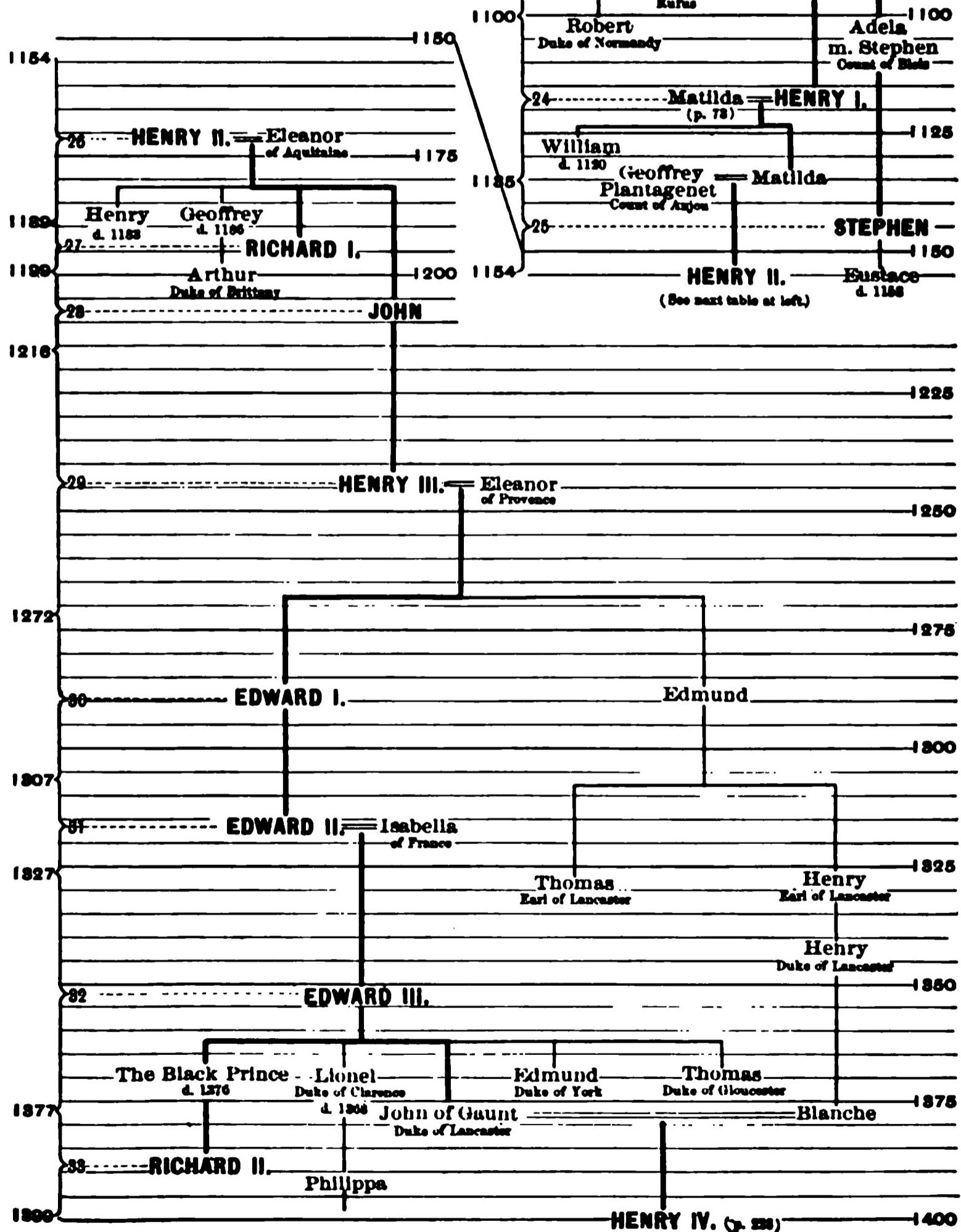
NORMAN KINGS

Time scale, 50 years to one inch



PLANTAGENET KINGS

Time scale, 50 years to one inch



CHAPTER IX.

RESTORATION OF ORDER (1154-1189)

HENRY PLANTAGENET (Henry II.) was a constructive statesman of the first rank, and during his long reign of thirty-five years (1154-1189) he brought about a series of political, military, judicial, and ecclesiastical reforms, although hampered by the difficulty of ruling over vast and widely separated domains. On his accession to the throne at twenty-one years of age he was ruler over four realms: (1) England, west to the Welsh marches and north to the Cheviots; (2) Normandy, with its dependent province of Brittany (map p. 77), inherited through his mother from William the Conqueror; (3) the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, inherited from his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet; (4) Aquitaine,—including (besides the original duchy, later called Guienne) also Poitou, Gascony, and some smaller neighboring districts,—acquired through his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine. Unfortunately his Continental possessions brought him and his English kingdom many troubles, for both Louis VII. of France and his successor Philip Augustus made it a feature of their policy to stir up insurrections in different parts of his domains.

Nevertheless Henry could not resist the temptation to extend his territories still more widely. During the dozen years following his accession, he forced both the Welsh princes and the king of the Scots to do him homage. He then turned his attention to Ireland, which he planned to conquer and convert into a kingdom for his youngest son,

John. Separated from Britain by a channel from thirteen to one hundred and thirty-eight miles wide, and harassed by continual piratical raids, Ireland had lagged far behind England in her development. Up to the seventh century her people had not generally abandoned the pastoral for the agricultural type of life; then Danish invaders occupied the entire eastern coast; later, native chieftains reduced the Danes to subjection, and carried on the Irish sept or clan system of tribal organization.

In 1169 a Norman adventurer named Richard de Clare, later called Strongbow, was encouraged by Henry to interfere in a quarrel between factions of the Irish. Within two years Strongbow married the daughter of the "king" of Leinster, succeeded to his possessions, and brought a considerable portion of Ireland under English control, so that Henry was able to visit it and receive the submission of certain kings and bishops. Five years more of military operations failed to reduce the rest of the island; and Henry decided to copy the policy of William I., by granting the still unconquered provinces of Ireland to various vassals on condition of fealty to Prince John. Thus a quarrel between Irishmen aided the first of the many invasions by which this unhappy island was brought under the dominion of selfish and tyrannous landowners, alien in race, alien in spirit, alien in motive, from those whom they governed.

At his accession Henry had given assurance of his intention to rule equitably by issuing a charter granting and confirming



MANOR HOUSE NEAR WELSH BORDER.
Built in 1150, at Millichope, Shropshire.

all the liberties and customs that his grandfather, the Lion of Justice, had granted, and promising to abolish all evil customs

181. Res-toration of order and to maintain order among the barons. Not only did he do this, but through his genius for organization he brought about many improvements in the law, methods of justice, and means of national defense.

(1) The first necessity was the better ordering of the baronage; he began by pulling down the thousand and more unauthorized castles built during the previous reigns, abolishing the earldoms recently created by Stephen, and resuming the alienated crown lands. He then turned to constructive work, aided in most cases by the approval of the Great Council. This body was summoned at least twice or thrice a year throughout his reign, except during his many and long absences upon the Continent.

(2) A reform partly fiscal, partly military, was the acceptance of "scutage" payments instead of actual knight service

182. Henry II.'s device of "scutage" (**§ 93**). In theory, all landholders were bound to furnish on demand armed and mounted warriors equal in number to the knights' fees which they held; but it was practically impossible for churchmen to fulfill this obligation. **(1156-1159)**

In 1156 Henry required the bishops to pay a sum in cash for each *scutum* (shield-bearing knight) that they failed to furnish. Three years later, he called the feudal array to attend him on an expedition to southern France, and as the knights were unwilling to go beyond seas, he accepted from them also a "scutage" payment of two marks (26s. 8d.) a man in lieu of service. With the £80,000 thus raised, he easily secured mercenaries for his foreign wars. The change thus introduced was far-reaching, for through the device of scutage the barons (unlike the corresponding class in France) became accustomed to bear their share of the national burdens, and as taxpayers felt the same interests as those of the common people. Moreover, they lost the habit of fighting, and so

were less able to stand against Henry's strongly centralized government.

(3) Twenty-two years later, he brought about a second military reform by reviving and reorganizing the old English fyrd, or national militia; that body could be used for the support of the sheriff in enforcing obedience to the law, as well as for defense against invasion. By the provisions of the Assize (ordinance) of Arms (1181), every freeman was bound to procure and keep for service suitable weapons of the most modern type then in use. "Let every holder of one knight's fee own a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance, . . . and likewise every layman worth sixteen marks in rent or chattels. . . . Let every layman worth ten marks own a hauberk,¹ an iron headpiece, and a lance. And let all burghers and freemen, without exception, own a wambais,² an iron headpiece, and a lance." These equipments were never to be sold or pledged, for they had to be ready for service whenever the militia should be summoned by the sheriff.

(4) The administration of justice had hitherto been hampered by the fact that the existing laws of England were derived partly from the old common law, partly from feudal sources, and partly from the civil law of the church. Henry caused these to be collected, harmonized, and reduced to order.

(5) Taking a hint from his grandfather, Henry I., he divided the country into six circuits, and appointed a permanent corps of circuit judges (1173-1176); and he still further separated the Court of the Exchequer from the Curia Regis. He was also the first monarch to set apart a body from the Curia to sit regularly on civil and criminal cases, as the Court of the King's Bench (1178).

The effect of these reforms was to increase the power of the king. In the first place, they led the people to look more

¹ A coat of ring-mail.

² A padded coat.

183. Re-vival of the fyrd

184. Judicial reforms

and more to the king and his council for justice and protection; in the second place, they put the more important judicial decisions into the hands of a staff of well instructed lawyers, who performed their duties under the immediate eye of the monarch.

(6) In Henry's reign, too, was laid the foundation of the jury system in court cases, which developed from a practice 185. *The* of the earlier Norman kings when they wanted *jury system* formation about local customs, taxable property, etc.

The jury developed in two forms. The first, the Jury of Presentment (the modern grand jury), was charged with the duty of bringing criminals to trial in the hundred court; the second, the Jury of Recognitors (the modern petty jury), acted at first as witnesses to the fact, not as weighers of evidence; and was for a time busy chiefly in fiscal cases. For example, the facts recorded in Domesday Book were ascertained through twelve recognitors; and Henry II. applied the jury system first to disputes over land, and later to other cases. The Assize of Clarendon (1166) decreed that twelve recognitors from the vicinity where the dispute arose should be chosen by four knights selected by the sheriff of the county, to decide the question at issue fairly upon their knowledge and the evidence presented. Such trials by jury gradually superseded the older trials by ordeal, by battle, and by compurgation.



TRIAL BY BATTLE.

From an illuminated letter, fourteenth century.

Henry was anxious to bring church and state into better relations and particularly to do justice upon ecclesiastics as well as on laymen who committed crimes. He therefore called a council at Clarendon in 1164, and made the entire body of "archbishops and bishops, earls and barons, and most noble and ancient men in the kingdom" ^{136. Henry II. and the church} a body of recognitors to determine "some part of the customs, liberties, and dignities" prevailing in the time of Henry I. Their report, called the Constitutions of Clarendon, contained sixteen articles, many of which tended to restrict the rights claimed by the clergy.

Hitherto the church had claimed that only the ecclesiastical courts might try "clerks" (members of the clergy), but these courts generally imposed only slight penalties or none, so that clerical offenders stood in but little fear of the law. The Constitutions of Clarendon provided that in certain kinds of suits clerks must plead in the king's courts like ordinary citizens; and lay inspectors were appointed to see that justice was done in the ecclesiastical courts. Other clauses forbade the excommunication of the king's officers and immediate vassals without his consent; and still others confirmed former arrangements about investiture and ecclesiastical appeals. Though these provisions were clearly not intended to work any injustice to the church, the church was jealous of even an apparent encroachment upon its powers; and the Constitutions of Clarendon led to a seven years' quarrel between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Becket was the son of a wealthy merchant of Norman descent. He rapidly rose in the service of the church, and like other able churchmen he was drafted into the service of the state, being made chancellor of the kingdom shortly after Henry's accession. Henry made him Archbishop of Canterbury, hoping for aid in his schemes for church reform; but from the first Becket acted as a defender of the existing ^{137. Henry II. and Becket}

rights of the church against all change. It is hard to determine how far he was honest in taking this attitude. More than once he behaved so arrogantly, and resorted to such doubtful methods, that it is hard to believe him sincere at heart; on the other hand, he bore disgrace, deprivation, exile, and final martyrdom in defense of his fundamental position—no weak proofs of single-hearted devotion to a cause.

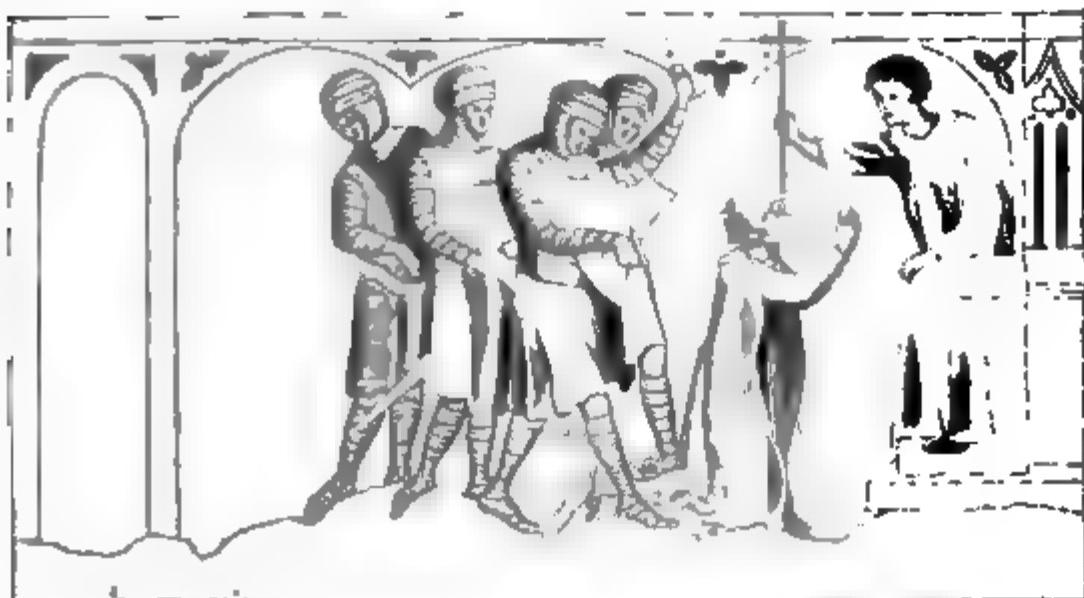
A quarrel early arose between the king and his minister over Henry's attempt to collect the Danegeld tax on the lands

138. Controversy with Becket (1163-1170) of the clergy. The officers of the church, although perfectly willing to levy all the money required and make a gift of it to the state, denied that they were subject to ordinary taxation, and Becket flatly refused to pay the Danegeld. "The king in anger replied, 'By the eyes of God, it shall be given as revenue, and it shall be entered in *Stubbs, Constitutional History, I. 500* the king's accounts.' . . . Becket replied, 'My Lord king, by the reverence of the eyes by which you have sworn, it shall not be given from my land, and from the rights of the Church not a penny.'"

A second cause of quarrel arose when Becket, after having once approved the Constitutions of Clarendon, withdrew his acceptance and thus roused the bitter anger of the king. After six months of strained relations, the quarrel became so bitter that Becket fled from England in disguise and took refuge, first with the Pope, and later with Louis VII. of France.

Through the intervention of the Pope, Becket was allowed to return to England after six years of exile. But his spirit **139. Murder of Becket (1170)** was still unbroken. Henry, while holding court in Normandy, learned with indignation that the proud archbishop had used his newly recovered authority to excommunicate all the bishops who supported the king's schemes. In a characteristic outburst of passion he exclaimed, "Will all my servants stand by and see me thus defied by one

whom I myself have raised from poverty to wealth and power? Will no one rid me of this troublesome clerk?" In these wild words four private enemies of Becket saw their opportunity to wreak vengeance upon him with impunity. They hastened to England and, on December 29, 1170, they murdered Becket before the altar of Saint Benedict in his own cathedral of Canterbury. Henry, aghast at the effect of his thoughtless words, appealed to the Pope for absolution for his



DEATH OF BECKET.

From the margin of a fourteenth century psalter.

sin. After two years of delay, and appropriate acts of humiliation on the part of the king, the absolution was granted, but the victim of his fury was canonized as a saint and martyr.

The dreadful outcome of this quarrel obscured the real matter at issue. It is now very clear that Henry's reforms tended not only to the good of the kingdom as ^{140. Merits of the} _{Becket controversy} a whole, but also to the purification and better government of the church; and since the Constitutions of Clarendon remained legally valid, although they were not enforced in practice, the victory may be said to have

been with the monarch. The problem of church and state was so complex that it could not be solved until each party had learned to be less tenacious of its powers and more sensible of its responsibilities.

Throughout his long reign, Henry found himself in difficulties because of his feudal relations in France; and in numer-

141. Death of Henry II. (1189) ous wars he took the field against his foes. In the latter part of his reign, his sons, greedy for territory and power, joined his enemies in several attempts to seize

portions of his domains. The labor and distress resulting from this contest exhausted the rapidly failing strength of the king, and he died in July, 1189, heart-broken at discovering the treason of his youngest son, John, whom he had believed to be loyal to his cause. He bequeathed his kingdom entire to his eldest surviving son, Richard.

Richard I., known as Cœur de Lion (the "Lion-Hearted"), reigned as king of England for ten years, although he can

142. Reign of Richard I. (1189-1199) not be said to have ruled. From the beginning he was interested chiefly in his Continental possessions and in the cause of the Crusades; not in his English kingdom. During

his entire reign he was in England less than a single year, and the government of the country was intrusted to various officers, notably William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and afterward chancellor, Hubert Walter, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter. The period was one of order and progress because these men carried on the traditions of systematic administration which they had received from Henry II.

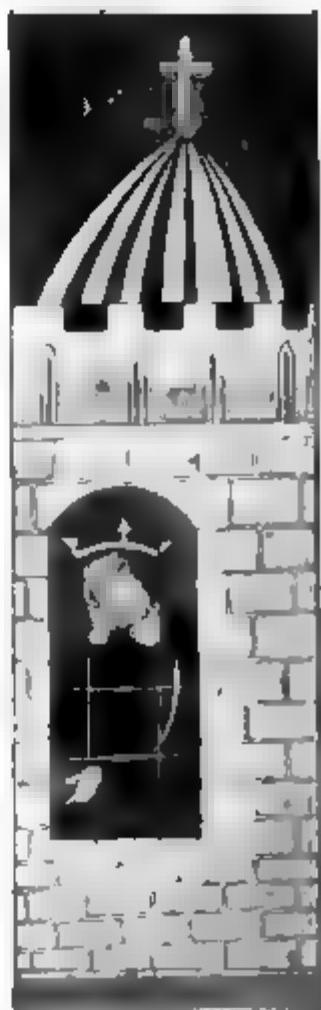
Richard was personally brave, chivalric, and fond of adventure. The Third Crusade, organized to rescue Jerusalem (re-

143. Richard I. as a crusader recently conquered by the sultan Saladin), aroused in him such lively interest that he hastened to take the crusader's vow. To secure the large sum of money needed for equipping and maintaining his army he sold appointments to the offices of sheriff and justiciar, sold to the King of Scots

absolution from an oath of homage made to Henry II., sold concessions to the church and to individual prelates, and sold charters of privileges to many prosperous cities and towns. His exploits while on this crusade have made him a favorite figure in romance, but as a whole the expedition achieved nothing of importance.

Richard was shipwrecked on the way home, and taken captive by his enemy Duke Leopold of Austria, and delivered to the Emperor Henry VI. As Richard was the brother-in-law of Henry the Lion of Saxony, the Emperor's chief rival in German political struggles, he was held for more than a year in captivity, and was finally released only on condition that he should pay a ransom equivalent to the present value of ten million dollars. To obtain the required sum, the justiciars strained the financial resources of his English domains to the utmost; the knights paid scutage tax, the towns and demesne lands were heavily assessed, every lesser freeholder paid in proportion to his ability, the Cistercian monks contributed a large proportion of the profits from their wool, and the people, clergy and laymen alike, were compelled to pay one fourth of their entire movable goods.

While Richard was in the toils of his enemies abroad, his brother John in England was leagued with his enemy and rival Philip Augustus of France, to undermine his power; and he even offered the Emperor £20,000 a month to detain him in captivity. Richard arrived in England only just in time to thwart John's intrigues, and



RICHARD I IN PRISON.
From an illuminated thirteenth century MS.

144 Death
of Richard
I. (1199)

after raising fresh sums by levying severe fines on the conspirators, by renewed sale of privileges and offices, and by a general tax, he hastened to France to engage in war with Philip. In France his career was cut short while he was engaged in a petty war with one of his vassals, and he died in 1199.

145. Sum- *The progress made during the half century cov-*

mary *ering the reigns of Henry II. and his son Richard was due almost entirely to the states-*

manship of Henry II., who, in a long reign of thirty-five years, was able to establish certain reforms so firmly that they withstood even the evils caused by Richard's absentee rule. His greatest success was the setting up of a strongly centralized government; to this end, he weakened the military strength of his vassals by the device of scutage, and he lessened their local importance by forcing his circuit judges into their courts for the trial of cases, and by allowing appeals from their courts to his own higher authority at Westminster. Indeed, he went so far toward absolutism that Glanville (author of the first treatise on English law, 1181) declares, "whatever he willed had the force of law." At the same time he gave the people a share in the administration of justice, as jurymen in fiscal and political cases, and was thus the first English monarch to



DEATH OF RICHARD I.

From an illuminated thirteenth century MS.

recognize clearly that the people should have an active share in carrying out the laws by which they are governed. This principle logically pointed to the admission of the freemen to a share in the making of those laws, but for some time to come all progress depended on the only class which had sufficient coherence and strength to make itself felt—the baronage. This party had hitherto often struggled to subvert orderly government; it was henceforth to struggle against encroachments upon its rights.

TOPICS

- (1) Compare Henry's methods in Ireland with those of William the Conqueror in the English marches. (2) Define accurately and fully a knight's fee. (3) What advantages did a mercenary force possess over a regular feudal levy? What counter advantages had a feudal force? (4) In case of a civil struggle between king and barons, to which party would the members of the militia probably ally themselves, and why? (5) Why was the early jury system especially applicable to suits over the ownership of land? (6) Why was the sheriff generally instructed to impanel knights as jurymen? (7) Why was it necessary to forbid the excommunication of the king's officers without his consent? (8) Why did the Constitutions of Clarendon forbid the consecration of a villein without his lord's consent? (9) On what grounds did Becket's murderers defend themselves? (10) Origin of the name Plantagenet.

Suggestive topics

- (11) The sept system in Ireland. (12) The English Pale. (13) The personal character of Henry II. (14) Richard I. in Palestine. (15) The romantic legends regarding Richard's captivity. (16) The attitude of other English monarchs than Richard to the Crusades. (17) Appeals to the King in Council. (18) The murder of Becket. (19) How did Becket become a saint?

Search topics

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CHAPTER X.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS (1100-1350)

THE late Norman and early Plantagenet periods began an economic and social change which was destined to do away with some of the most striking features of feudalism. Through slow crystallization of customs, feudal service was lifted one grade higher. The menial servant who could not be kept busy during his lord's absence from the manor, often was assigned small portions of land to work ; such land, if held by him and his children in succession for several generations, gradually became reserved by customary right; and thus he rose from the base to the privileged class of villeins. Again, lords of the manor would often set free a portion of their serfs, either as penance for sacrilege or some worse crime, or upon their deathbeds, as a preparation for departure from life.

Villeins might earn their own enfranchisement, since such of them as had a talent for handicrafts were able during their free hours to earn enough silver to commute their dues in kind into a money payment, an exchange which the lord was always glad to make. They were then able to devote all their time to their wage-earning crafts, and speedily became free tenants. Others, shrewd in purchasing and bargaining, bought their freedom with the proceeds of trade. Many strong-willed villeins fled from their manor and took refuge in some distant town, where, by customary law, a residence of a year and a day freed them from their bondage to the soil of the manor whence they had fled. A still more important

146. Decline of serfdom

147. Enfranchisement of villeins



means of rising in the world lay through entrance into holy orders; for the church was ready to seek everywhere, in the villein's cottage as in the lord's manor house, for intelligent, devoted servants.

As with individuals, so with communities. Places which, like Chester and Carlisle, were located near some old Roman or Norman stronghold; others which, like Oxford or Winchester, were the sites of important monasteries; and others which, like Norwich, stood at the head of navigation on some stream, attracted to themselves the carpenters, masons, glass and metal workers, for whom the Normans now found employment. Villages developed rapidly into towns through the growth of trade, and as soon as they were rich enough they sought charters of privileges from their

Henryus de Anglia, dux Normannie, et Rext. Bret. Regis. Anglie et comit. Herefordie, episcop. Eboraci, Dunelmie, Cantabrigie, Legum, Peterborow, Northumbrie, burgos, comit. Ior. Gouernie, Baroni, et fidelibus suis subiectis Sedis non distante an offerimus etiam et confirmamus burghum nosterum Oxon. Domum quendam in villa Oxon cum terra que fuerit appensa sicut jure regis quod inter dominum quod fuit de vinclis, et domum Iudei Judae habendum et remandum sibi, et

BEGINNING OF A CHARTER OF HENRY III., GRANTING A GUILDHALL TO OXFORD.¹

lords. Furthermore, nearly all the towns formerly free, but absorbed into the crown demesne at the time of the conquest, now began to purchase from the king charters granting them certain rights of self-government. Among the towns to which charters were early granted we find London, Winchester, Bristol, Exeter, Gloucester, Worcester, Norwich, and York.

For many reasons the inhabitants of thriving villages

¹ Translation: "Henry, by God's grace King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitania, and Count of Anjou,—to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, counts, barons, justiciars, foresters, viscounts, prefects, ministers, and to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting. Know that we have given, granted, and by this charter have confirmed to our burgesses of Oxford a certain house in the village of Oxford, with its appurtenances, which formerly belonged to Moses, son of Isaac the Jew," etc.

desired a charter. In the first place, the financial system of feudalism was both complex and indefinite; no two vassals 149. **Value** stood on exactly the same basis, and no vassal could **of charters** foresee what demands might be made on him. Such a system was intolerable to the shrewd financiers who built up the earliest trading centers. They preferred to commute their irregular and indefinite payments into a single definite tax (the *firma burgi*), and to assess and levy this by business-like methods devised by themselves, without interferences from the king's petty officers. Furthermore, in the "guilds," or trade associations which they formed to advance their business (§ 158), they had a machinery suitable for local government, and capable of preserving much better order than was possible under the king's officers.

In their charters, therefore, the commercial and industrial communities sought to secure at least three special rights: (1) a quitrent tax instead of the uncertain feudal charges; (2) self-government under a mayor and aldermen; (3) regulation of trade. Many of the towns were in the demesne lands of the crown, and purchased the coveted privileges from the king; others lay in the domains of some monastery, bishop, or lay baron, and bought charters from their lords. For example, the citizens of Lincoln paid 200 marks in silver and 4 marks in gold to be freed from the control of the local lord, so that they might hold directly of the king.

London was naturally the earliest town to gain important immunities. At the time of the conquest William I. took 150. **Gov-** pains to win the confidence of the Londoners by special **ernment of** pledges. "William, king," reads its first charter, **London** "greets William, bishop, and Gorfrith, port-reeve, and **Stubbs,** all the burghers within London, French and English, **Documents,** friendly; and I do you to wit that ye two be worthy of **82** all the laws that ye were worthy of in King Edward's day, and I will that every child be his father's heir after his father's

day. And I will not endure that any man offer any wrong to you. God keep you." The city received a permanent civic organization in 1191. The mayor (at first an appointed officer, but after 1215 elective) was associated with a board of aldermen from the different wards, representing the merchant guilds, many of which still exist.

By the year 1200 the city of London had taken on something of its permanent form. From the eastern end, where stood the great Tower built by William the Conqueror, stretched a wall, pierced at intervals by gates flanked by defensive towers, inclosing an area of 668 acres, and returning to the river just beyond the cathedral of St. Paul's. Within these limits were massed the houses and shops of the tradesmen and artisans. The names of the streets — Cornhill, Milk Street, Bread Street, Chepe-side (*i.e.* market-place), The Poultry — still testify to the business done in different localities. There was a guildhall for the meetings of the town council and the craft guilds, and a market house for miscellaneous business. "The greater part of the city was built of wood, and the houses were covered with reed and straw . . . so that whenever any house caught fire, the greater part of the city was burnt, as came to pass in the first year of King Stephen."

Two miles west of the city, the borough of Westminster was rising into importance, first because in it stood the noble abbey on which Edward the Confessor had expended one tenth of his yearly income, and also the great palace of William Rufus; and, secondly, because the business of the king's court was now centered there.

If we examine the communities in England at the end of the twelfth century, we shall find four different types: (1) the village, a mere center of manorial life; (2) the borough, a village of sufficient importance to possess walls or other defensive works, and some measure of self-gov-

151. Sketch
of London
in 1200 A.D.

Fitz-Step-
hen, De-
scription of
London,
circa 1173

152. Classes
of commu-
nities

ernment; (3) the town, distinguished by its flourishing trade or industry, its weekly market, and in most cases its charter of privileges from the lord of the domain; (4) the city, a name applied specifically only to towns which contained the official residence of a bishop, and his cathedral church.

The causes of the rapid development of city life are to be sought first of all in the conditions created by the Norman

153. Causes of changes

(1) The security of property brought about by William the Conqueror and by Henry I. were favorable to trade and industry. The Danes, after one attempt to replace the Etheling on the throne in 1069, let England alone. Under Henry I., private warfare ceased to interfere with trade; for in 1102 the Lion of Justice so severely fined Ivo of Grantmesnil, the first of his vassals to imitate the French peers in their readiness to fight, as to prevent others from repeating the offense. Henry also extended the protection of the king's peace over all the roads in the kingdom, to the great advantage of commerce.

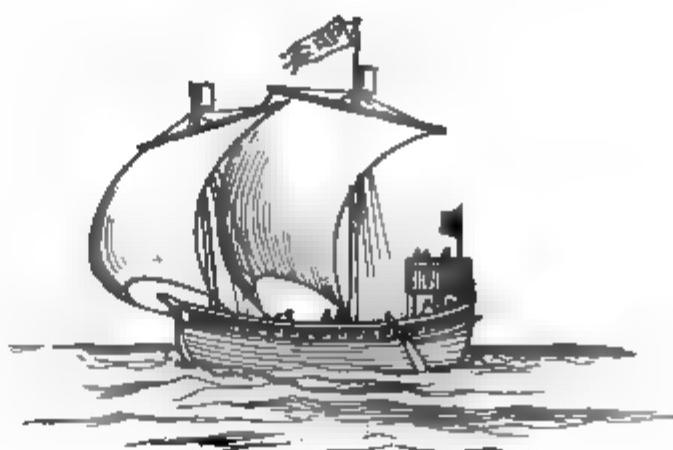
(2) The connection with Normandy helped England to develop. The Conqueror and his Norman followers held frequent communication between their Norman and their English possessions. In their train came to England

154. Foreign interests

numerous shrewd Norman merchants, who were quick to see the advantage of building up business in a country as yet undeveloped; and hard upon the heels of the merchants followed bands of artificers and craftsmen, who settled, some in the east in Norfolk, and some in the west in Wales. These merchants set examples of vigor and of enterprise which the English were not slow to imitate, and trade was rapidly built up with Ireland, with Brittany, and with Denmark.

(3) Above all, it was during this period that England began the wool trade with Flanders, which formed the most important feature of English commerce for three centuries.

The Flemish traders traversed the country, visited the various markets, fairs, and even individual manors, to collect the raw wool produced in England, and transported it in bales to Dover; there it was stored up in warehouses until the arrival of vessels which plied between England and Flanders. In the latter country it was woven into cloth, and then was marketed throughout



SHIP OF HENRY III'S TIME.

With fighting-deck in stern. From a MS. *Le Livre des Histoires*, 1269 A.D.

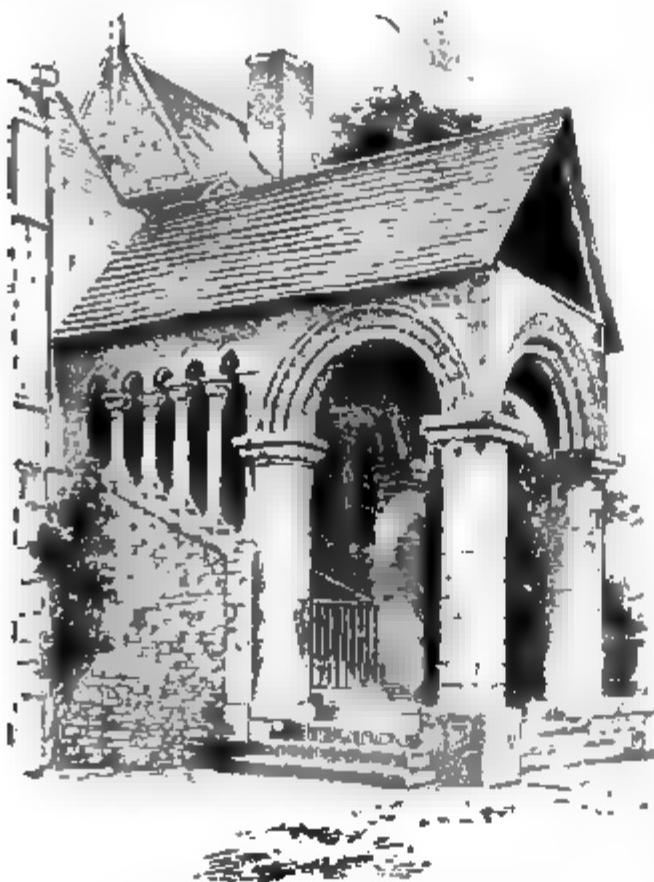
southern Europe. Hitherto ships from the Mediterranean had largely monopolized the carrying trade, but now England began to build merchant ships in large numbers. These were clumsy affairs constructed of oak, with high sides and rounded ends, and equipped rather for ability to resist both stress of weather and piratical attacks, than for speed or freight capacity.

(4) The Normans did more than to teach the English commerce and manufacture; they also taught them to want many things which they had never desired before. For example, under William II. the upper classes in England became for the first time extremely fastidious about their dress. Long, flowing hair, loose, sweeping garments, long and pointed shoes, were the fashion at William's court; these fashions were changed under his successor, Henry I., and the close tunic with a flowing loose outer cloak came into use. As with dress, so with articles of food, with aristocratic pastimes like hunting and hawking, with aesthetic delights. In all these the Normans set an example for the English, whose lives had been comparatively barren and unbeautiful.

155. Nor-
man fash-
ions

(5) It was the Normans, too, who taught the English to care for noble and dignified architecture, although as yet they put up churches, monasteries, and castles, rather than fine residences and civic buildings. One hundred and ninety-five religious houses were built during the reigns of William I. and his sons. During the early part of

166. Norman and Gothic architecture



STAIRWAY WITH NORMAN PIERS AND ARCHES.
In the close of Canterbury Cathedral.

wall are Norman; while the clustered shafts, the trefoils in the arches, and the lancet-shaped windows date from the era when Gothic art was introduced by returning crusaders.

(6) Another influence favorable to city life was the Crusades, which spread a desire for luxuries among the wealthier classes of England, by making them acquainted with Eastern products, such as muslin and fine silks, and with the luxury of Oriental civilization. The Crusades

167. Effect of the Crusades

led English merchants to venture into the Mediterranean, to exchange their wares for foreign products. These products were distributed to buyers in England through great fairs held at stated intervals in towns situated at the intersection of main roads. The greatest fair in England was held yearly at Stourbridge (map, p. 150), from September 18 to October 9, when hundreds of booths or stalls were erected in rows forming long streets, and leased to merchants from Hamburg, Bordeaux, Florence, Bruges, and other European marts. Here merchants and bailiffs procured their annual supply of salt, pepper, spices, wine, arms, etc., and disposed of their wool, hides, grain, and hay.

(7) Still another uplifting force was the organization of guilds and associations of merchants, which were started upon the Continent and adopted by the English as local commerce increased. Thus commerce made much more rapid progress than agriculture. Every manor carried on its farm work in isolation, and most bailiffs plowed, sowed, and reaped precisely as their predecessors had done; but in the



CHOIR OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL (LOOKING EAST), BUILT 1174-1180.

Illustrating Norman and early Gothic vaulting.

158. Trade
guilds and
craft guilds



PRINCIPAL FAIRS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

guilds all traders worked to a common end, and were thus able to control not only methods and hours of work, but also to a large extent quantity, quality, and even price of product. They maintained trading posts in foreign cities, and got from the king a monopoly of the right to import or to sell certain articles, and exemption from paying tolls and duties on others.

The merchants' guild was the pioneer organization of its kind, but many others were speedily developed on the same model. Thus we find the small tradesmen (bakers, grocers, butchers, clothiers) and the handicraftsmen (weavers, dyers, fullers, leather workers) forming guilds, and securing special privileges in return for the payment of sums of money. Since the privileges obtained by these guilds were costly, they were too precious to be wasted. The guild, therefore, adopted strict rules for the training of skilled artisans, took measures to

prevent the marketing of cheap and ill-made wares, and exercised a wholesome supervision over the morals of the workmen employed. In their provision for the payment of sick and death benefits to their members they anticipated the workingmen's mutual associations of our day.

(8) One important cause of economic progress was the introduction of a Jewish colony into England by William the Conqueror, from his Norman capital of Rouen. In both countries the Jews were merely dependents of the sovereign; for the Christians of the eleventh century were wholly unchristian in their attitude toward them. Thus the Jews had in England no right to protection under the laws of the land, or redress for wrongs in its courts. In 1189, during the reign of Richard I., they were massacred by thousands during an outbreak of race hatred. Their only safeguard from murder and outrage lay in the fact that they were valuable to the kings, who were always famous borrowers. The poorer Jews also found scope for their talents as stewards on manors, or as financial agents of the king in the management of the demesne lands.

The Jew had a natural monopoly of the business of lending money, for the Christians were afraid of incurring the guilt of usury; and since commerce and manufactures depend in a large degree upon borrowed capital, the Jews were almost indispensable to the new economic prosperity of England. It is a curious fact that much of the capital with which the Norman monarchs and churchmen built those noble and costly cathedrals and churches that lent a glory to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was borrowed from the despised enemies of the Christian faith.

Certain conditions less favorable to English prosperity should also be noted. Methods of farming were still crude; the use of special soils and fertilizers for particular crops was not understood, the reason for rotation of crops had not been discovered, and farm implements were

159. Importation of
capitalists

160. Conditions unfavorable to progress

clumsy. Moreover, the laborers were unintelligent, and the manorial system failed to stimulate individual enterprise. Hence failures of crops in unfavorable seasons often brought hardship and then starvation. After severe rains, the cattle (poorly housed and cared for) suffered from murrain and pestilence, which often spread to the agricultural laborers. The towns, too, suffered severely from the civil strife, which checked industry, and from the foreign wars of the monarchs, which led to excessive taxation and crippled the merchant and the manufacturer.

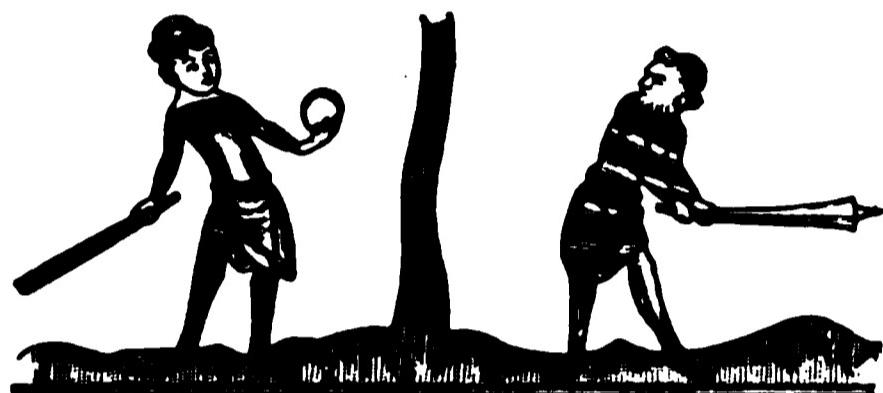
Early in the thirteenth century a reaction set in throughout Europe against the greed and the arrogance of the monastic corporations, which had become the possessors of vast wealth, with all its temptation toward worldliness. The abbots and priors dressed extravagantly, lived luxuriously, and devoted themselves to political and social affairs; the lower monks lived lives of ease, secluded in their cloisters, and caring only for the salvation of their own souls; or they gave themselves up to vices inseparable from indolence. Living, for the most part, in fertile and remote valleys in the rural districts, they were blind to the spiritual needs of the townspeople, and knew little of the squalid homes or of the sordid employments which tended to degrade the thronging artisans. Nor did the secular clergy supply the needed uplift; too often the parish priests in the towns were grossly ignorant, for most of the richer livings were located in the country.

New orders of monks, called mendicant friars, were formed to fight these conditions. Abjuring the holding of property, the friars devoted themselves to spreading religion within the towns, to the care of the sick, to a life of self-sacrifice in the cause of humanity. The Austin or Begging Friars, the Franciscans or Gray Friars, the Dominicans or Black Friars, and the Carmelites or White Friars all appeared in England before 1350. At first opposed to education, and given up to a life

of poverty and practical benevolence, they were driven by their labors as physicians and preachers to take a leading part in the new educational movement which soon developed.

At this time, education was for the select few only. Two types of schools existed : the "song schools," where boys could learn by rote enough Latin to equip them for choir singing; and the "grammar schools," in which they studied

162. Elementary education



BOYS PLAYING BALL.

From MS. decretals, formerly belonging to St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield.

strove against one another in (Latin) verses, and contended about the principles of grammar and rules of the past and future tenses. Two of these schools, Carlisle (founded under William II.) and Salisbury (1319) later became notable public schools.

Description of London, circa 1173

Of the universities, that of Oxford was the more ancient. The first mention of the town as a place of resort for students dates from the year 1117, when a certain "doctor," or licensed teacher, is said to have "had under him sixty or a hundred clerks more or less." Students were in attendance there all through the twelfth century, and many men came after the settlement of a body of Dominican friars at Oxford in 1221. In 1209 a quarrel between the townspeople and the students led to a great migration from Oxford, and many of the deserters settled at Cambridge. For a long time the students in both towns lodged wherever they could find accommodations, and were under little or no discipline.

163. Oxford and Cambridge universities

*Green,
Short His-
tory,
ch III. § iv.* "Instead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a mediæval town. Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging houses, clustering around teachers as poor as themselves in church porch and house porch — drinking, quarreling, dicing, begging at the corners of the streets — take the place of the brightly colored train of Doctors and Heads — Mayor and Chancellor struggle in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life."

The influence of the Normans in England was seen in the growth of city life, with its diversity of industries and refinement of taste. Architecture, literature, fine arts, and handicrafts followed in the wake of the merchant, and with the wider opportunities for individual usefulness and the general increase in intelligence, serfdom gradually waned. Political, mercantile, and industrial corporations promoted the welfare of all classes, made possible the conduct of enterprises on a large scale, and thus, by creating a demand for capital, promoted the very important economic change by which the commodity-barter system gave way to the monetary system of modern times. With the increase in wealth, the monks fell away from their high ideals, and the mendicant friars took up their missionary work, carrying religion everywhere into the new-grown towns. The beginnings of education were seen in the founding of schools and colleges, but the masses — especially in the country districts — were still grossly ignorant.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) Compare a modern trade union with a mediæval guild.
- (2) Why did towns prefer the control of the king to that of a local lord? (3) From what authority does a city in the United States get its charter? (4) Why could the English raise wool more cheaply than the Flemings? (5) Make a list of the novel articles of commerce which appeared in England with the advent of the

Normans, and discuss their significance. (6) What is money, and why did it become more abundant in England at this time? (7) As it became more abundant, did it increase or decline in value? Did prices, in consequence, rise or fall? (8) Enumerate the various advantages, political and economic, which England derived from its conquest by William I.

(9) An imaginary account of a day at the Stourbridge Fair. (10) Traces of the ancient government of London in its present government. (11) The typical ground plan of a cathedral, and the reasons for its assuming that form. (12) The mechanical reasons for the adoption of the pointed arch; of the buttress; of the pinnacle; of Gothic tracery. (13) An account of the Norman method of hunting with falcons and hawks. (14) The mediæval theory about usury, and its expression in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. (15) Boys' schools. (16) Life at the English universities. (17) The banks of the period. (18) "Liveried Companies" of London at the present day. (19) Life in an abbey.

Search topics

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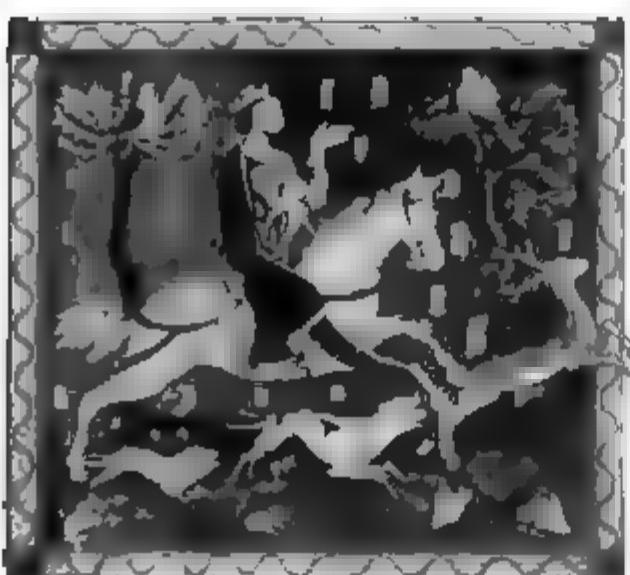
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CHAPTER XI.

DEFENSE OF LIBERTY BY THE BARONS (1199-1272)

THE nearest heir of Richard I. was Arthur, a twelve-year-old son of his brother Geoffrey; but Richard quarreled with 105. Accession of King John (1199) Arthur's mother over the possession of Brittany after Geoffrey's death, and named his younger brother, John, as his successor. The barons accepted his recommendation, much to their later regret; for during the seventeen years of John's reign, from 1199 to 1216, his faults of character brought disaster on himself and on the kingdom. Eager to enrich himself at the expense of his subjects, acting with cruelty and violence when violence could do least service, selfish, untrustworthy, short-sighted, by these very faults King John provoked a very great advance in English constitutional liberty.



KING JOHN, HUNTING.

From a MS. forest charter, dating from Edward I.

Like his father, he began his reign with a struggle over 106. Contentions over French domains (1199-1204) territory; for King Philip Augustus of France recognized Arthur's claims to most of the French fiefs of Richard, and he also summoned John as a vassal to appear at the French court and defend himself against charges of mis-

government in his province of Poitou. On John's refusal his French fiefs were declared forfeited. In the war which followed, Arthur was captured by John, and soon after died. The charge that he was murdered by John's orders was of great advantage to Philip, who now invaded Normandy, supported by almost all John's French subjects. John was driven from France, and all Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine passed permanently into the hands of Philip (1204), in spite of John's later efforts to reconquer them. Of all the vast French domains of Henry II. the only portion left to John was Aquitaine (including Gascony, Guienne, and part of Poitou). Thus after being connected with England for nearly a hundred and forty years, Normandy reverted to French control. Of William's possessions, the Channel Islands alone remained (as they still do) subject to the English crown.

Meanwhile John quarreled with the church still more bitterly than had his father. When the Archbishop of Canterbury died in 1205, John forced the chapter to elect one of his favorites, the Bishop of Norwich. The monks of the cathedral chapter protested that they had the sole right to choose the archbishop; John admitted their right to elect, provided they chose whomever he should nominate. Both parties appealed to Pope Innocent III., and "proctors" (deputies) were sent to Rome to lay the case



JOHN'S FORFEITED FRENCH FIEFS.

clearly before him. Innocent saw in this event an opportunity to assert the supremacy of the Pope over monarchs, a doctrine of which he was a most ardent champion. "No king," said he, "can rule rightly unless he devoutly serve Christ's Vicar." He therefore ordered the proctors at Rome to elect a candidate of his own, an Englishman named Stephen Langton. "Personally a better choice could not have been

Green's Short History, Ch. III. § ii. made, for Stephen was a man who by sheer weight of learning and holiness of life had risen to the dignity of Cardinal, and whose after career placed him in the front rank of English patriots. But in itself the step was a violent usurpation of the rights both of the Church and of the Crown."

John refused to accept the decision, and carried on a struggle against the clergy with so great violence as almost to renew the terrors of Stephen's reign. He seized the property of the see of Canterbury for his own use, and refused the protection of the law to the bishops and clergymen, who were in many places driven from their lands and subjected to robbery and outrage. A Welshman was brought before John, charged with murdering a priest. "Let him go," said John, "he has killed my enemy."

The Pope now laid the kingdom under an interdict, by which it was made unlawful to perform any church service or to

1213. Victory of the church (1213) celebrate publicly the sacraments of marriage and of burial. "The bodies of the dead were carried out of cities and towns, and buried in roads and ditches without

Roger of Wendover, Chronica Majora prayers or the attendance of priests." John retaliated by confiscating all the property of the clergy, and the Pope, in turn, excommunicated John. As the king refused to yield, the Pope, after waiting three years, issued a "bull" (papal decree) deposing him, absolving England from the duty of obedience to him, and authorizing his enemy Philip Augustus of France to expel him from his kingdom.

Disaffection among his own subjects left John without

support against his enemies; and in 1213 he was obliged to submit to the authority of the Pope, to humiliate himself before the papal legate, Pandulf, and to resign his crown into the legate's hands and receive it again as a vassal of the Pope. Furthermore he was required to accept Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, to restore the church lands to the bishops and monks, and to make good the losses sustained during the recent trouble.

John's submission to the Pope was partly due to his wish to invade France and recover his forfeited domains; but his barons refused to accompany him beyond seas. Nevertheless, with the assistance of the German Emperor, of loyal vassals in France, and of English mercenaries, he attacked Philip; but his cause was hopelessly lost when the Emperor's allied force of Germans and English was defeated in the disastrous battle of Bouvines (1214). 169. Struggle with the baronage (1213-1215)

The barons took advantage of John's difficulties to urge reforms in the government, for he had persistently violated the rights guaranteed in the charter of Henry I. At St. Albans, and at St. Paul's in London, they pressed their demands for better government, and in a final conference at Bury St. Edmunds they swore that "if the king delayed any longer to restore the laws and liberties, they would withdraw their allegiance, and would make war upon him until he should confirm the concession by a sealed charter." John attempted resistance, tried to separate the clergy from the barons by an offer to grant them freedom in the election of bishops and archbishops, cajoled individual barons in order to create disunion among his enemies, appealed to the Pope for assistance, and finally took the cross of a crusader to protect his person from violence, at the same time that he was preparing for war. Stubbs, Constitutional History, I. 567

The rebels met at Stamford and marched southward to London. For a while John dreamed of resistance, but day by

day his adherents fell off, until he could command the support of only seven knights. Cowed for the time, he met the barons at Runnymede on the Thames near Windsor, and after a single day's discussion agreed to the terms of the *Magna Charta*, or Great Charter, practically as dictated by the barons, June 15, 1215.

This charter as originally agreed upon contained forty-nine articles (afterward increased to sixty-three), setting forth the rights and privileges of each class of people and each department of the government. Among other things, ^{170. Magna Charta (June 15, 1215)} (1) it guaranteed freedom of elections within the church; (2) it insured the regular judicial system created by Henry,



PORTION OF MAGNA CHARTA.

with special provisions regarding the circuit courts; (3) it limited judicial fines to a reasonable amount; (4) it provided securities for personal freedom to earl, baron, freeman, and villein, especially in the famous thirty-ninth article, which declared that "no freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned

or outlawed, or banished, . . . but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land"; (5) it reviewed the whole question of the financial relations between lord and vassal, abolishing all exorbitant and irregular demands in the case of inheritances, wardship, and the like, and laying down the principle that the consent of the Great Council should be necessary to the levying of scutage or of aids other than the three kinds which were fixed and undisputed — namely, for ransom of the sovereign, for the knighthood of his son, and for the marriage of his daughter; (6) it guaranteed the intelligent administration of justice by sheriffs or other officers "who knew the law of the realm," and wisely prohibited the torture of criminals; and (7) it provided for uniform weights and measures, and for the protection of merchants at home and abroad.

The importance of Magna Charta can not be exaggerated, but its character should not be mistaken. It did not create new conditions or formulate novel constitutional principles. It was simply a comprehensive, definite, and systematic statement of principles of government which had been already recognized in practice; it was the first detailed yet brief enumeration of the relations between the monarch and his subjects, and it was the first compact in English history in which these two parties negotiated as equals. Previous charters had been granted by the monarch to the people, and contained no guarantee beyond the king's word; this one authorized a committee of twenty-five peers to enforce its provisions, by forcibly resisting the monarch if necessary, seizing his castles, and going to any extreme short of violence to his person or to his family. The weakness of this provision was that it provided, not a truly legal remedy like impeachment, but simply civil war sanctioned in advance.

171. Signifi-
cance of
this charter

The charter was especially significant in that its benefits were not confined to a single class. In the assemblies sum-

moned during the struggle, both king and barons sought the support of the burgesses (citizens of the boroughs) and the influential inhabitants of important towns; London was represented in the rebellious army and its Lord Mayor was one of the twenty-five guardians of the charter, and the document applied to villeins and to simple freemen, as well as to noblemen.

After the acceptance of the charter, John's reign lasted but sixteen months, a period of confusion and distress for England.

172. Close of John's reign (1215-1216) John chafed and struggled against the chains with which he had been shackled. The Pope, troubled by the power of the barons,—though his own nominee, Langton, was a leader among them,—attempted by a bull to make the charter null and void, suspended Langton from office, and launched an anathema against the whole body of rebellious barons. The barons, elated by their success against John, divided the kingdom among their chiefs—partly to secure the enforcement of the charter, partly to humiliate the king, partly to gain personal advantages for themselves. Discord was certain; one party secured the friendship of Louis, heir to the throne of France, and even recognized him as king of England. John by great exertions recovered control of the north and west, but when Louis appeared in London, many nobles and bishops hastened to swear homage and fealty to him. Successes in the southeast strengthened their hopes, and John, reckless and despairing, was vainly struggling to keep his ascendancy in the midland counties, when he died suddenly at Newark, October 19, 1216. The pro-English barons named his nine-year-old son Henry as king, and secured for him the support of the church. The other party, who had tolerated Louis only as a weapon against John, soon abandoned their ally, and in less than a year he was obliged to retire to France.

During Henry III.'s long reign of fifty-six years the barons struggled constantly to defend the charter which they had wrested from John. During the eleven years of Henry's

minority the government was carried on by the King's Council (a body developed from the original Curia Regis), directed by two able and patriotic ministers, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and Hubert de Burgh, who defended alike the rights of the monarch and of the people; but after Henry came to his majority, his reign, from 1227 to 1258, abounded in quarrels between the king and his ministers and barons. By his own marriage with Eleanor of Provence, and that of one of his sisters with the Emperor Frederick II., Henry created ties of interest and affection with foreigners; and the most important offices about the court, together with the majority of the bishoprics and their temporalities, were given to Frenchmen. William of Valence, one of Eleanor's uncles, was made Earl of Richmond; another, Peter of Savoy, succeeded him in this earldom, and in his position as head of the royal council, and a third was made Archbishop of Canterbury. French relatives of Henry's mother, Isabella of Angoulême, also received earldoms and bishoprics. Under the influence of these aliens Henry adopted a Continental rather than an English policy in government.

This policy aided in obliterating whatever divisions still remained between families of Anglo-Saxon stock and those that dated from the conquest. Normans and English forgot their

173. Char.
acter of
Henry III.'s
reign
(1216-1272)



CORONATION OF HENRY III

The king holds a model of Westminster Abbey, which he rebuilt. From a twelfth century MS.

differences in resisting Henry's constant demands for money to supply the needs of his foreign favorites and to pay for vari-

174. Henry's anti-English policyous expeditions which he was led to undertake through their influence. Just then came the intense effort of the Popes to be arbiters of the fate of kingdoms. Henry's nine-year-old son Edmund received from Pope Innocent IV. a grant of the kingdom of Sicily (1254), in return for which honor Henry was expected to aid Innocent in his struggle against the Hohenstaufen Emperors; and as another move in the same struggle, Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, was encouraged to seek an election as King of the Romans, a preliminary step toward election as Emperor (1257). Furthermore, the Popes insisted upon having benefices and dignities bestowed upon foreign prelates, almost to the exclusion of the English clergy. In 1252 foreign clergymen were drawing from English sources more than three times the entire revenue of the king; and the barons, the English clergy, and the commonalty were driven to united protests against Henry's misgovernment.

Henry was determined to rule like the kings of France, without restraint from ministers or Parliaments (as the Great

175. First revolt against Henry III. (1258) Council meetings began to be called). He left the office of justiciar vacant for twenty-four years and that of chancellor for seventeen years, meanwhile resorting to every form of extortion to make good his extravagance.

Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V. 627. He exacted forced loans, kept bishoprics and abbacies vacant, and contracted debts amounting to four times his annual income. Investigation proved that "since the king had commenced plundering and wasting the wealth of his kingdom, he had expended 950,000 marks, which it was dreadful to think of."

The climax of misgovernment was reached when, in the Parliament of 1257, the king announced that he owed 135,000 marks to the Pope, and demanded an aid amounting to one tenth of all the revenues of the church, together with the

income of all vacant benefices for five years; and the next year he demanded a tax "of one third of all the goods in the realm." Parliament refused, and it was agreed that a commission of twenty-four members, representing both the king and the barons, should report at Oxford in regard to reforms in the kingdom, in the royal household, and in the church.



WEST FRONT OF WELLS CATHEDRAL.

Built 1205-1406.

The results of this commission appear in the so-called Provisions of Oxford (June, 1258), which called for the creation of a permanent council of fifteen advisers to the king, who, with the great officers of state (the justiciars and the chancellor), were to supervise the administration of the government, for the purpose of securing fiscal and ecclesiastical reforms. A so-called "Parliament" was to assemble three times a year, whether summoned or not; but this was to consist only of the fifteen councilors and of "twelve honest men" chosen by the barons to meet with the councilors and "treat of the wants of the King and of his kingdom." By this device, ostensibly adopted to relieve the general body of the barons from the cost of attending Parliament, the tyranny of the king was replaced by an oligarchy of the barons.

170 Provisions of Oxford

For three years the barons had free sway, for the alien friends of the king fled to France; but the king first intrigued to stir up discord among the barons, and then attempted to reassert his own authority. After an indecisive struggle between barons and king, King Louis IX. of France was asked to arbit-

trate between the contestants. By the "Mise [treaty] of Amiens" (1263) Louis, who was accustomed to think of kings as absolute rulers, annulled the Provisions of Oxford; but he stipulated that Henry's foes should receive full amnesty, and that all charters granted in the past should be held valid.

The champion of the baronial party, and the head of the council of fifteen, was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a 177. Second nobleman of French descent, who had gained military (De Mont-
fort's) rebel- experience as a crusader, and had proved himself an lion (1264) able and fearless governor over the turbulent province of Gascony. De Montfort was resolved not to submit to Louis's decision, a resolve in which he was supported by the citizens of London, the burgesses of the other important towns, the more patriotic members of the clergy, and the masses of the people. He accordingly renewed the contest, and attacked Rochester with a force of Londoners. The king and his eldest son, Prince Edward, after some success in the midlands, met the rebellious army near the castle of Lewes, in Sussex (May, 1264). De Montfort offered to surrender and make recompense for all damages inflicted during the recent contests, if the monarch would but reconfirm the Provisions of Oxford. This offer having been refused, the forces joined battle. Although De Montfort won a decisive victory, and captured both Henry and his son, yet he acted with great moderation, and even agreed to a fresh arbitration by the king of France.

In the meantime, a new council of nine members was created, three of whom (De Montfort, the Earl of Gloucester, 178. Second and the Bishop of Chichester) virtually controlled the experiment king's business. The Pope, the king of France, and the in govern- foreign party in England, all set to work to undermine ment by this government, which so seriously threatened the king's barons (1264-1265) independence. De Montfort turned to the nation for support, and, in his capacity as chief minister of the crown, summoned a Parliament to meet in January, 1265. This

Parliament is notable in English history because De Montfort summoned not only lords, churchmen, and knights as representatives of the shires, but also representatives from the boroughs and cities. Its importance in the history of a representative Parliament will be discussed later (§ 193). Its immediate effect was slight, since it was packed with friends of De Montfort, and failed to pass any measures of lasting importance; but it proved the weakness of the oligarchical form of government, and showed that De Montfort, at least, felt the need of national support in a movement for the defense of the national liberties.

A quarrel soon arose in the council between De Montfort and the Earl of Gloucester; and the latter, joining forces with Prince Edward, began a civil war by operations in the west. In a battle fought at Evesham on August 4, 1265, De Montfort was killed, and the king's return to power naturally followed. Within a year Henry became absolute master throughout England, and met with no further resistance up to his death in 1272.

The reign of John had two conflicting results. His failure in his quarrel with the Pope greatly increased the influence of aliens over the church in England; but the loss of his French fiefs left England free to develop politically without foreign entanglement; and at the same time Magna Charta laid down splendid principles of English liberty which have never died out. Thenceforward England made rapid progress towards a genuinely national life, a progress curiously parallel to, yet different from, that made in France during the same period. In France the kings, especially John's contemporary, Philip Augustus, combined with the towns to break the power of the tyrannical barons; in England the barons became defenders of popular liberty against tyrannical kings. Their action helped to develop a new King's Council,

with functions varying at different periods from the simple giving of advice to almost unlimited control over the king's actions. But the events of Henry III.'s reign proved that neither king nor barons could be trusted with unlimited powers. Meanwhile, the successive contests helped to create a genuine national sentiment, to teach each party to respect the other, and to show the importance of a system of government carefully defined in constitutional charters.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) By what right and what precedents could the barons justify their action in making John king instead of Arthur? (2) Why should John disobey Philip's summons? (3) Upon whom did the burden of the interdict really fall, and what did Innocent III. hope to accomplish by it? (4) Cite other instances of the deposition of a monarch by a Pope. (5) How would John's reduction to a state of vassalage affect the attitude of the nation toward the Pope? (6) What is the exact import of the phrase "the judgment of his peers"? So far as possible, trace in the previous history of England the origin of the evils rehearsed in Magna Charta. (8) Which of these seem inevitable under the political system then existing? (9) How do you account for the decision of Louis IX.? (10) What weakness in Magna Charta did the reign of Henry III. disclose? (11) Why should the trading towns, with London at their head, have been the chief supporters of De Montfort?

Search topics

(12) The common elements in the successive charters issued by the Plantagenet monarchs to the nation. (13) A study of the 14th, 36th, 39th, and 40th articles of Magna Charta. (14) London in the thirteenth century. (15) Simon de Montfort the Elder. (16) A comparison of De Montfort and Becket. (17) American claims to the liberties of Magna Charta. (18) Why was Magna Charta written in Latin? (19) Did Magna Charta help the villeins?

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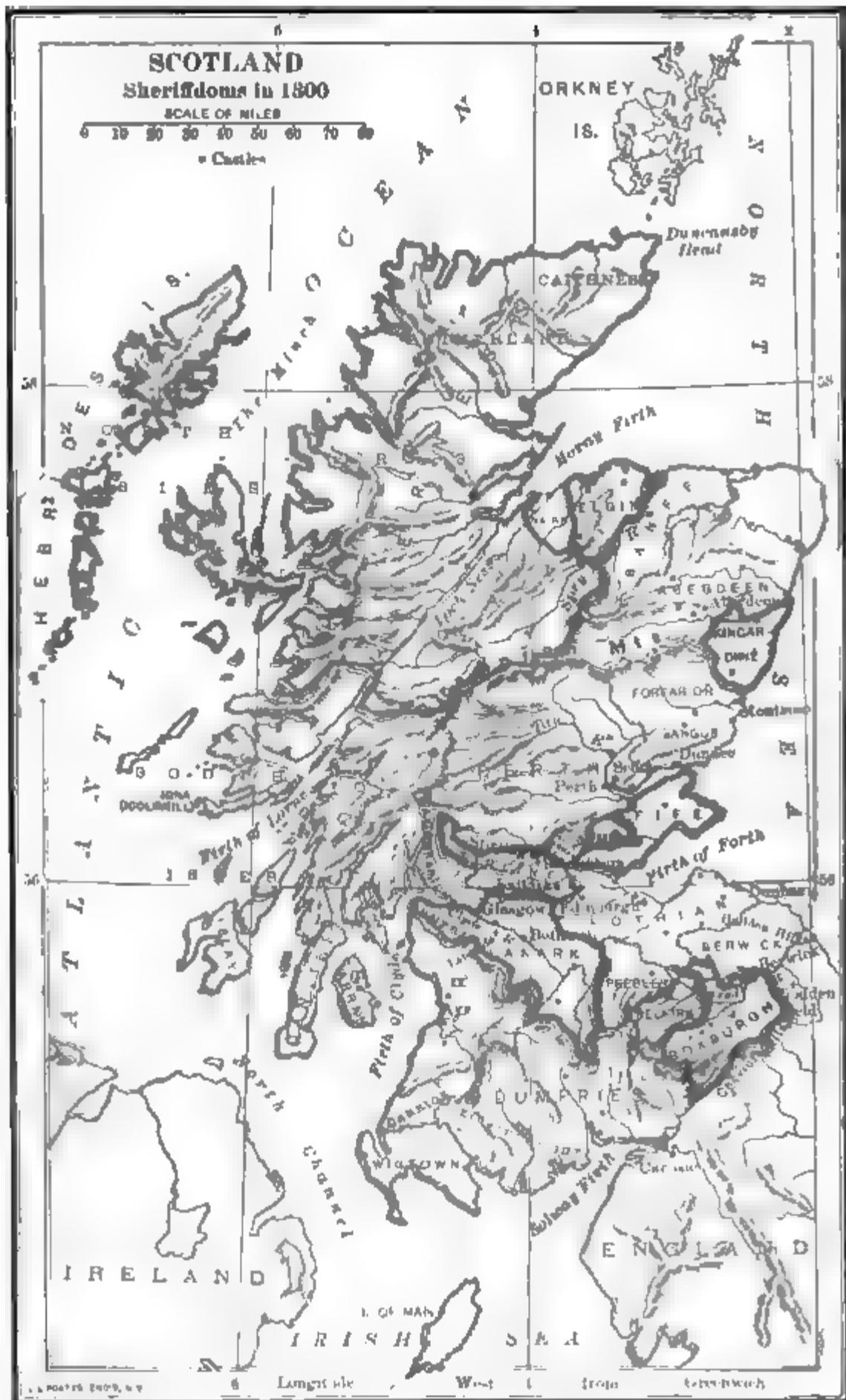
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CHAPTER XII.

FIRST STEPS IN PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT (1272-1307)

HENRY III.'s son, Edward I., who became king in 1272, was thirty-three years of age at his accession. His military experience in the barons' wars, and later in the seventh and last of the Crusades, made him an able soldier; but his claim to greatness lay in his strong political instinct. 180. Character of Edward I. The legal bent of his mind led him to ask of every action, both of king and of subject, "Is this act constitutional?" To answer this question, he was compelled to give definite form to constitutional principles: and he therefore stands forth as the greatest English lawgiver.

Edward's instinct for system made him anxious to unite all Britain under a single monarch, and, at the very beginning of his reign, events made it possible for him to change Wales from a vassal principality into an integral part of the kingdom. At Edward's coronation, Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, refused to attend and do homage for his principality; but in 1277 he was induced to recognize Edward's suzerainty. Five years later he again rebelled, occupied three of Edward's castles, seized the person of the justiciar of Wales, and committed outrages upon the inhabitants of the English marches. Edward promptly invaded north Wales; Llewelyn was captured and killed, and soon all Wales submitted to him. 181. Annexation of Wales (1284)

Western Wales remained a distinct province, not represented in Parliament, but governed under a special code, entitled the Statute of Wales, which roughly copied the laws

and system of administration by shires prevailing in England.



CORONET OF THE PRINCE
OF WALES.

Gold, with inner cap of crimson velvet, edged with ermine.

Eastern Wales remained in the control of the lords of the marches, under feudal law. In 1301, the king's son Edward, who had been born at Carnarvon castle in 1284, was given Llewelyn's forfeited title of "Prince of Wales"; since that time it has been customary to bestow this title upon the eldest sons of English monarchs, and occasionally it has been bestowed upon younger sons who have become heirs to the crown.

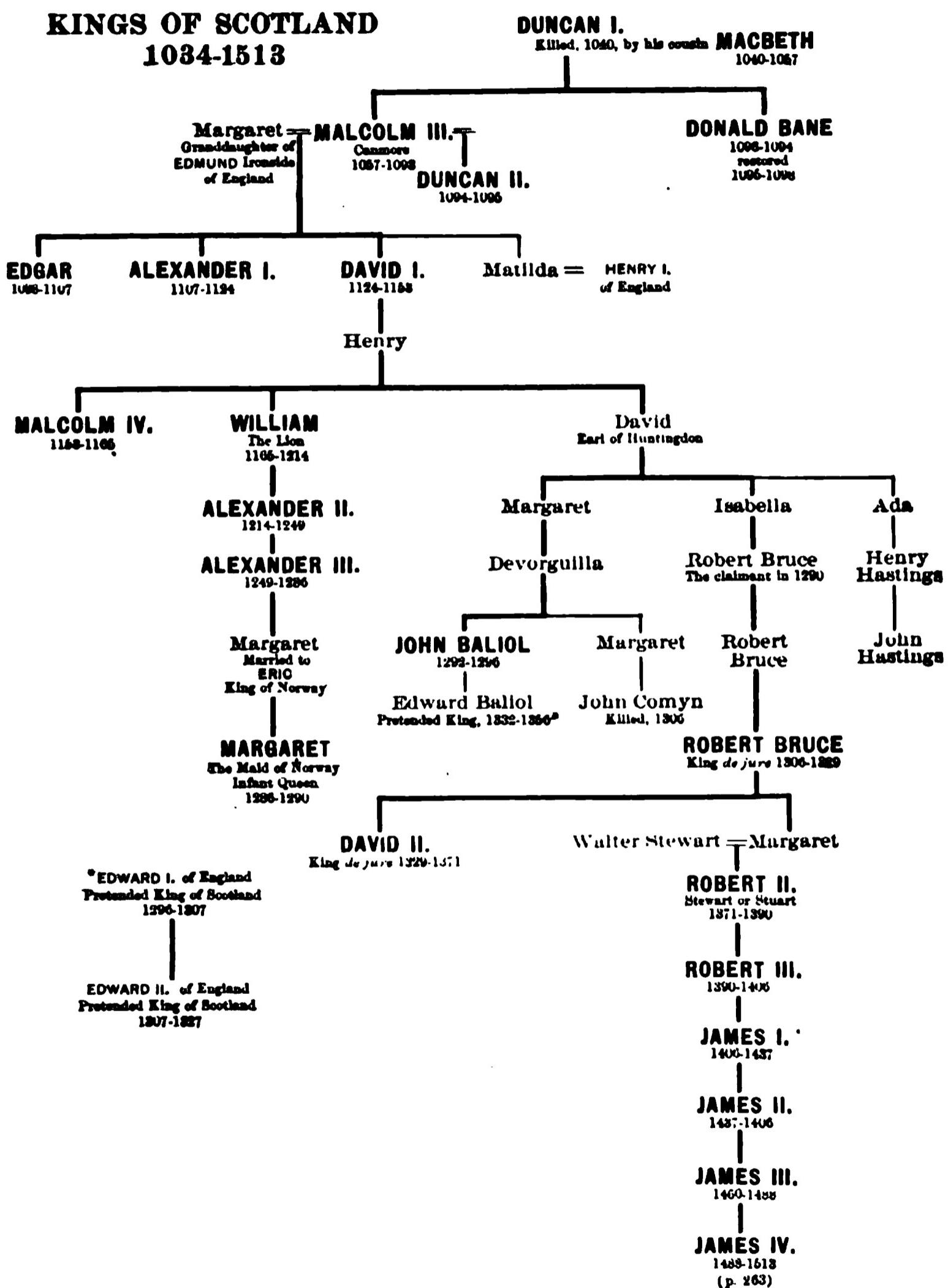
Edward strongly desired to bring Scotland as well as Wales into a closer union with England, by inducing the kings of

**122. Ed-
ward's su-
zerainty
over Scot-
land**

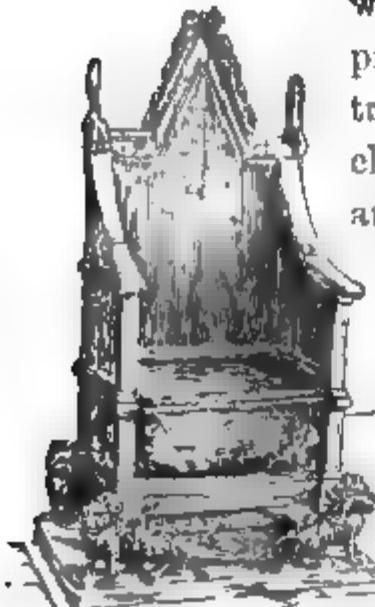
Scotland to do homage for their entire kingdoms, instead of for their English fiefs alone; and in a contest over the succession to the Scottish throne which took place in 1290, he found his opportunity. Three of the thirteen claimants—Robert Bruce, John Baliol, and John Hastings—could present plausible grounds for their claims; and to avoid civil strife it was agreed between these claimants and the Council of Regency that the judicial-minded king of England should be asked to arbitrate in the matter. Edward demanded that he should be recognized as overlord by that claimant to whom he should award the crown, and the Scotch barons had to consent to his demand or face a war with a powerful state while their own lacked a head; they therefore sullenly yielded their castles to Edward and acknowledged his suzerainty. In 1291 Edward fairly enough awarded the crown to John Baliol and received the latter's homage "for himself and his heirs."

Two years later war broke out between France and England, and Edward demanded that his Scottish vassal should aid him

KINGS OF SCOTLAND 1034-1513



against the French. The Scottish barons resented this call, and, instead of obeying, formed an alliance between France and Scotland which lasted (with brief intermissions) more than three hundred years. ^{133. First Scottish war (1296-1304)} Baliol was placed under the control of a committee of peers, and in 1296 was compelled to renounce all allegiance to England. Edward at once attacked Scotland. In four months he took Berwick, Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, and Dunbar—a series of victories which made him master of the situation. He promptly declared Baliol's crown forfeited for treason against his overlord, had himself proclaimed king of Scotland, and transferred the ancient coronation seat of the Scottish kings from Scone to Westminster Abbey.



CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Containing the "Stone of Scone."

Later, while Edward was occupied with France, the Scots, inspired by a gentleman of the Lowlands, William Wallace, attempted to expel the English. For a year Wallace made repeated gains by able strategy; but on Edward's return in 1298 the forces of Wallace were utterly defeated in the battle of Falkirk. The Scots, however, continued the struggle for a time, but by the year

¹³⁰⁴ almost all Scotland had been reduced to submission by Edward. Wallace now carried on a guerrilla warfare, was outlawed as a rebel, and finally was captured and executed as a traitor (1305).

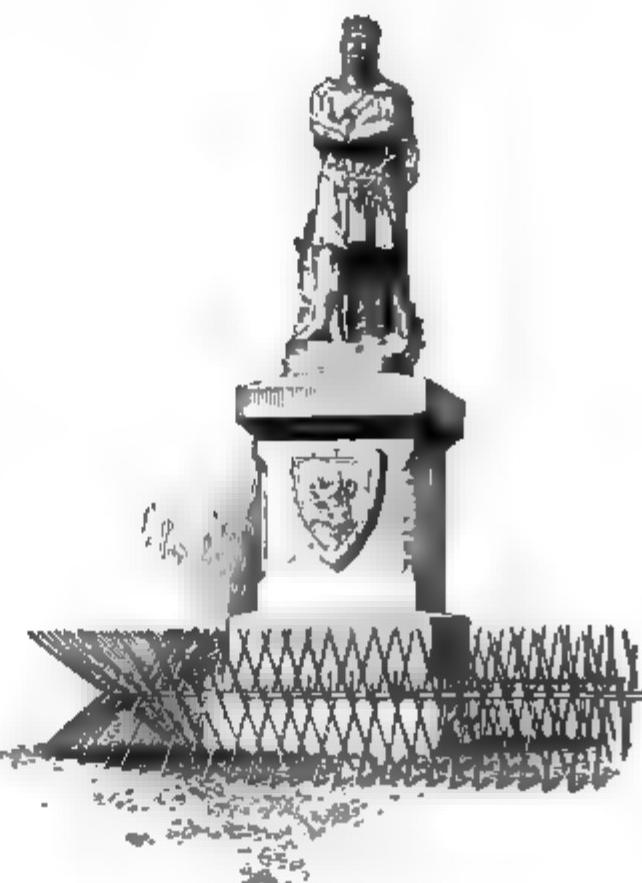
Edward now imposed upon Scotland a new constitution, under which the government was intrusted to a council of ^{134. Sec-} Scottish nobles, and the Scottish people were represented ^{ond Scottish war (1306-1307)} in the English Parliament; but it divided the country into shires similar to the English counties, deprived the Scottish nobles of their castles, and in other ways outraged the

national pride of the Scots. They therefore speedily broke out in fresh rebellion, under the leadership of young Robert Bruce, grandson of that Robert Bruce who had claimed the throne in 1290. This young man had hitherto supported Edward, hoping to be given the crown forfeited by Baliol; but now he threw off the mask of friendship, and induced the Scots to crown him as king at Scone in 1306.

On hearing of this new breach of faith, Edward made a solemn vow that he would punish that "perjured and rebellious country of outlaws." He invaded Scotland, routed the Scottish army, and drove Bruce from the mainland to the Hebrides; but in July, 1307, Edward died while about to lead an expedition from Carlisle into Scotland. His death gave an opportunity for Bruce, who had returned from exile, to prepare an organized resistance to Edward's successor.

Notable as were these events, they were far less important than the great administrative and legislative reforms which made Edward's reign memorable. He seized, with the ^{185. Re-}
^{forms in the} instinct of a statesman, upon the best ideas of his great ^{judicial} predecessor, Henry II., and molded and elaborated them. ^{system}

(1) Edward I. completed the breaking up of the *Curia Regis* into separate courts, each with its own judicial staff: the Court of the Exchequer had entire control of cases affecting the



THE BRUCE MONUMENT, STIRLING.

revenue of the state; the Court of Common Pleas had jurisdiction in suits between private individuals; and the Court of the King's Bench heard cases to which the crown was a party, including appeals from the lower courts. The king's chancellor was given jurisdiction in cases where there was no adequate remedy at common law, a practice from which later sprang the equity Court of Chancery. In the Circuit Courts of Assize, the judges were assigned to special circuits, and their duties were clearly defined. In trials by jury, witnesses were permitted and the original twelve jurymen became merely judges of the evidence presented.

(2) Up to this time there had been no good system for preventing crime and punishing criminals. By the old system of

186. Creation of local police system "frankpledge," men were divided into groups, and each group was held responsible for crimes committed by any one of its members; that is, the group was bound to de-

Decree of 1185 liver him to the sheriff, or pay his fine. On the discovery of a crime, the citizens generally were bound to follow the "hue and cry" in pursuit of offenders, on penalty of being held as malefactors themselves. Edward now added the

system of "watch and ward," by which towns were required to maintain constables on watch, and to put strangers under ward, at night; he also caused "conservators of the peace" to be appointed from among the knights in every county, to hold for trial persons charged with crime; and he had the high-

Statute of Westminister, 1285 ways between market towns widened, so that there might be "neither dyke, underwood, nor bush, whereby a man might lurk to do hurt," within two hundred feet on each side of the road.

(3) During the thirteenth century, many landholders began to find the conditions of feudal tenure burdensome, and to

187. Changes in tenure of land devise schemes for lightening feudal restraints and obligations. One scheme was to make a sham transfer of the land to some church corporation (since the church was

exempt from certain feudal dues); another was to divide the land by subinfeudation, so that the landholder received an income from the various "incidents" due from his mesne tenants, while the hold of the king and the greater lords over their part of the fief was correspondingly weakened. Edward attacked these evils in the Statute of Mortmain (1279), which forbade persons to place land in the "dead hand" of the church, and in the two Statutes of Westminster (1285 and 1289), which fixed the conditions under which land could be transferred to laymen. The Statute of 1285 (*de donis conditionalibus*) permitted owners to "entail" their estates, so that they could not be sold in fragments but must pass as a whole from parent to child; the Statute of 1289 stopped any further subinfeudation by providing that whenever a vassal sold land, the new owner owed service and dues directly to the lord of the person from whom he bought it.

(4) So long as land was the only or the principal source of wealth, feudal dues (virtually a tax on real estate) naturally constituted the chief source of revenue for the state; but by the time of Edward I. a second source of wealth was discovered in foreign commerce, and Edward tried to make the merchant bear his share of the public burdens. This was the more necessary because the Danegeld was no longer collected, and because in 1290 Edward was forced by the pressure of public opinion to expel all the Jews from England.

At that time it was believed that exports reduce the sum total of wealth within the country; and that imports injure the dealers in home products by flooding the country with foreign wares. The sovereign was therefore permitted, as guardian of the general welfare, to lay duties upon both imports and exports. Edward developed an elaborate system of export duties, principally bearing upon the wool trade with Flanders. He also imposed import duties, which foreign mer-

chants were glad to pay in exchange for special trade privileges at English seaports.

(5) The inhabitants of market and manufacturing towns had been rapidly amassing wealth in the form of salable goods, and 189. **Taxation of personal property** the kings reached this form of wealth by a tax on "movables," corresponding to the modern tax on personal property. In 1188 Henry II. levied the first extraordinary tax of this kind in England, and later kings resorted to it at intervals; but Edward made it a part of his system for raising a revenue from the towns and boroughs on the royal demesne, which by their charters had secured a ridiculously small *firma burgi* levy in commutation of the sums formerly paid to their lords. Henceforth, whenever the king made a request through Parliament for a special grant from feudal tenants, special fiscal officers were sent to the above-mentioned towns to levy a tax of one fifteenth or more of their movables.

(6) Since these various sources of income were insufficient to meet the expenses of Edward's many enterprises, he tried 190. **Taxation of the clergy** to raise large sums by levying direct taxes upon the clergy, and thus brought on a new struggle with the church. So far from refusing to share the burdens of the state, the clergy had on several occasions previous to 1294 contributed a tenth of their annual income toward Edward's expenses. In that year the necessities of his war with France led him not only to demand a half of their annual income, but also to demand as a right what had before been granted as a free gift. He actually frightened the clergy into paying this exorbitant tax, which yielded him £105,000; but soon the threat of a new war with France led to new demands, and the clergy refused to make a grant (1296), on the ground that in a recent bull (*Clericis Laicos*) Pope Boniface VIII. had forbidden the clergy to pay any tax upon demand of the secular authority, under penalty of excommunication.

Instead of entering upon a contest with the Pope after the

manner of Henry II. or of John, Edward simply announced that if the clergy would not contribute like other citizens toward the support of the state, they should receive none of that protection which the state offered to other citizens. If this were withdrawn, the clergy, although liable to suits instituted by laymen, would be unable to bring suit against their vassals for their property or for rents; and they would have no redress against acts of highway robbery or depredations of any sort. When Edward further threatened to confiscate all their property, the clergy were compelled to yield the tax.

Edward's victory over the church would have been complete had he not at the critical moment offended the barons by demanding that they should take a force into Gascony to attack France from the south, while he himself led another into Flanders for a similar attack from the north. The barons refused to leave England, on the ground that, although by their oath they were bound to attend Edward in the field, they were not bound to take the field without him. Aided by the disaffected clergy, and by the merchants, who hoped to secure the repeal of the duties on commerce, they compelled the king to make a most far-reaching concession: he permitted the Prince of Wales (after his own departure for France) to issue the so-called *Confirmatio Cartarum*, or confirmation of former charters. It was based upon Magna Charta, but it contained seven additional clauses, the most important of which made illegal any tax without the consent of Parliament, "saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed." This clause gave to the national legislature that control over the public purse which later served to make it the supreme authority in the realm. It marks the climax in a long process of parliamentary development, and offers an occasion for reviewing its rise and growth.

The student will remember that in the Anglo-Saxon state two diverse elements were combined — the democratic in the

national, shire, and town moots, and the aristocratic in the Witan. This double system lasted after the Norman conquest; but very soon the weaker portions of the aristocratic body had to join hands with the democracy, the meetings of the Magnum Concilium gradually became limited to the larger landowners (§ 100), and these greater barons, or "magnates," by custom acquired the right to be notified of a contemplated meeting of the council by a personal writ, while the



THE OLD HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER. (Burned in 1834.)

lesser tenants in chief were summoned by the sheriffs in general writs for the whole shire. This distinction was expressed by Magna Charta, which declared that archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons should receive individual summonses. All those distinguished enough to receive this writ came to form an aristocratic class, the so-called "peers of the realm," while the lesser barons were brought down among the knights and freeholders and members of town corporations, with whom they constituted a new political body, the "commons" of England; but not till centuries later did the commons include the masses of the people.

Before the reign of John, the commons had practically no share in the national government, although its members were

all-powerful in the shire, where the knights and freeholders controlled the shire moots, served on juries, took part in the election of sheriffs, assessors, and collectors, voted on matters of police, finance, and administration, and took action on the royal orders published by the sheriffs. The turbulent events of John's reign placed in their hands a power over the national government which they never relinquished. In 1213 each town was asked to send to the assembly at St. Albans its reeve and four men to assess the damages suffered by the clergy (§§ 167, 168), and in the same year each shire was required to elect at the shire moot four representatives to attend the Great Council at Oxford. These meetings, and De Montfort's Parliament of 1265 (§ 178), served as precedents for Edward I. when he summoned his Model Parliament in 1295. To this, as to every subsequent Parliament, were summoned, by special writs, the peers of the realm (now called lords temporal) and the archbishops and bishops (now called lords spiritual); and by general writs issued to the sheriffs of the several counties, were also summoned two knights from each county, and two citizens or burgesses from each of the important cities and boroughs. Besides these two great classes, representatives of the chapters of cathedrals and of the parochial clergy were summoned by writs addressed to the several bishops.

A representative Parliament was the natural body to solve the king's money difficulties. William I., as we have seen, lived "of his own"; but, as the state grew larger, his successors had to spend more and more on the public service, and to call upon their vassals more and more frequently for money aids. At first they made their demands on the barons at a session of the Great Council, on the counties through the sheriffs at the county moots, and on the boroughs through agents sent to treat with the corporation officers; but it was much easier and quicker to summon

193. Representation
of the com-
mons in
Parliament

194. Parlia-
ment and
the money
power

representatives from the counties and boroughs to gather at the same time and place as the Great Council.

The fact that the sums voted, although often required for public uses, were apparently gifts to the king, led to two results. (1) It enabled the nation to bargain with the monarch, demanding good government in return for money, and securing tangible guarantees of their right to good government in the form of charters signed and sealed; and, although these were often violated, yet whenever grave tyranny provoked a revolt, they could be quoted by the rebels as a defense against the charge of treason. (2) Until Parliament gained the right of making laws, in addition to its duty of voting supplies, representation therein was not wholly a desirable privilege, especially as the towns had to pay their representatives for their trouble; often during the fourteenth century constituencies petitioned to be excused from sending representatives, or even neglected to obey the royal writ.

One feature of this period was the recognition of the principle of hereditary succession. All the Anglo-Saxon kings based

195. He-
reditary
succession
to the
throne

their claims to the throne on royal blood and election by the Witan; all the Norman kings based theirs on royal blood and the consent of the baronage, clergy, or people.

Neither William II., nor Henry I., nor Stephen, nor John, could claim the throne as nearest heir to his predecessor; but from the reign of Edward I., the monarchs were regularly proclaimed king as by hereditary right, with no mention of the consent of the barons, and the reign of each was held to begin from the moment of his predecessor's death.

196. Sum-
mary

England employed the period from 1272 to 1307 in building up a definite constitutional structure. Under Edward "the Lawgiver," England acquired a body of roughly codified laws; improved her machinery for executing these laws; secured specific reforms in the matter of land transfers

and of subinfeudation; forced the church to submit to taxation in common with all other landholders; after a long series of experiments, found a practicable basis for a representative Parliament in a body which combined democratic with aristocratic elements, yet limited representation to those who had most at stake in the government; and thus provided a means of restraining the monarch in all questions, such as wars, involving the expenditure of large sums. Her noble classes became separated into peers (or hereditary legislators) and gentry (a hereditary middle-class aristocracy, destined to be conservers of liberty and orderly government). Lastly, she reduced the number of her dangerous neighbors by annexing Wales, but offset this by making Scotland for a long time hostile to herself and friendly to France.

TOPICS

(1) How did it happen that the lords of the marches continually encroached on Welsh territory? (2) Was Edward's treatment of Wales wise or unwise, and why? (3) What inherent weakness in the feudal theory does the vassalage of the Scottish to the English kings suggest? (4) Why did Edward wish to hold the Welsh and Scottish castles during his war with France? (5) What ancient bond was there between the natives of France and those of Scotland? (6) Discuss the justice of Edward's cause at different stages in his quarrel with Scotland. (7) What was meant by the statement that land owned by the church was held in "mortmain" (a dead hand)? (8) Point out the mistake in the mediæval theory of the effect of foreign commerce. (9) Describe the application of the representative principle in the shire moots. (10) Show that a county court, or shire moot, was a miniature Parliament. (11) Contrast the concession about taxation in the Confirmatio Cartarum with that in Magna Charta.

Suggestive topics

(12) The status, income, and functions of a modern Prince of Wales. (13) The Coronation Stone and its legendary history. (14) Was William Wallace a patriot, or a disturber of the peace? (15) The various privileges and immunities included in "benefit of clergy." (16) The organization and functions of Convocation during this period. (17) What is a court of equity? (18) Why would not the barons leave England? (19) A session of Parliament in Edward I.'s reign.

Search topics

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CHAPTER XIII.

MISGOVERNMENT UNDER THE LATER PLANTAGENETS (1307-1399)

EDWARD II. was a young man of weak character, who devoted his time chiefly to hunting, feasting, and tournaments, and was not fond of real warfare. While not really vicious, he was negligent of duty, indolent, foolish, and obstinate. Instead of following up the Scottish war vigorously on the death of his father, in 1307, he gave his attention first to arranging elaborate funeral and coronation ceremonies, and then to placing his unworthy favorites in positions of trust and gain. His favor was chiefly bestowed on an ambitious and avaricious foreigner, Piers Gaveston, whose arrogance and misgovernment soon roused the barons to resistance. When Edward unpatriotically appealed for aid to the Pope and to the king of France, the barons were still more angry. In 1310 a body of twenty-one barons, called the Lords Ordainers, was chosen, whose duty it was to formulate ordinances for the reform of grave abuses in the government. Edward first accepted and then annulled these ordinances, and a struggle followed, in which Gaveston was captured and executed without pretense of legality, by the leaders of the baronial party. The barons remained dictators of the king's policy for some years.

During these absorbing events, Bruce was making such headway in Scotland that Stirling was the only stronghold left in the hands of the English. Edward, at last roused to action, invaded Scotland in the year 1314 with an army numbering 100,000 men. Bruce prepared to dispute his



STIRLING CASTLE.

advance by taking up a position on a hillock which commanded the roads to Stirling from the south, with the right flank of his army protected by a little brook called Bannockburn, and the front protected by a marsh and by a series of shallow pitfalls each containing a pointed stake. Edward attacked this strong position on June 24, 1314. At the crisis of the contest, a flank attack by Bruce's cavalry carried

confusion into the English ranks, and Edward, mistaking a crowd of Bruce's camp followers for a body of Scottish reinforcements, ordered a retreat. At this moment Bruce attacked with his main army, the English archers and cavalry were both driven in hopeless rout, and Edward, barely escaping capture, fled, attended



BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

by a few hundred men. For seven years Bruce acted on the offensive, harassing the north of England by repeated incursions. In 1320, during a single raid he laid in ashes eighty-four towns and villages, and three years later the English were driven to make a truce for thirteen years, thus conceding to Bruce the mastery of Scotland.

Edward's loss of prestige after Bannockburn left his cousin the Earl of Lancaster, now leader of the baronial party and commander in chief of the army, virtually ruler of England. Edward, meanwhile, gave his attention to a new favorite, Hugh Despenser; and his lavish gifts to the relatives of this favorite (two of whom received sixty-three English manors) led to a fresh revolt headed by Lancaster and certain other lords of the Welsh Marches. At the battle of Boroughbridge (1322) the rebels were defeated, and Lancaster and thirty of his associates were afterward executed; but one of the leaders, Roger Mortimer, escaped from prison and took refuge in France.

For a time Edward was free to conduct the government as he pleased; but soon his queen, Isabella of France, while absent in Paris, fell under the influence of Mortimer and was persuaded to aid him in overthrowing Edward. In September, 1326, Isabella and Mortimer landed in Suffolk, where they were joined by the king's brothers, his cousin (the new Earl of Lancaster), the Archbishop of Canterbury, and indeed all the leading men of the nation. Edward fled into Wales, hoping to find a refuge in Ireland, but was captured and imprisoned.

At a Parliament called in January, 1327, the Bishop of Hereford presented charges, alleging (1) that the king was too indolent or incompetent to judge between right and wrong, (2) that he had listened to evil counsel, (3) that he had lost Scotland through his own fault, (4) that he had injured the church, and (5) that he had broken his coronation oath to "do justice to all." The wretched king

199. Rebellions against Edward II.
(1321-1326)

200. Deposition of Edward II.
(Jan. 7, 1327)

admitted the truth of these charges and abdicated his throne; whereupon Parliament renounced all allegiance to him and declared his son Edward to be king of England.

The reign of Edward III. extended over exactly fifty years.

At his accession in 1327 he was but fourteen years old, and

201. Period of Regency (1327-1330) therefore the government was for a short time in the hands of a Council of Regency. This was of course dominated by the queen and Mortimer, but the latter, who was created Earl of March, rapidly made himself hated by his haughty bearing and by his violence toward those who remained faithful to Edward II. The deposed king was soon murdered, probably by Mortimer's orders.

In 1330 Edward III., now married and a father, determined to take the government into his own hands. With the support of the Earl of Lancaster, he suddenly caused the arrest of Mortimer; brought him to trial on the charge of overawing Parliament by force, of usurping royal castles and lands, and of embezzling public moneys; and caused him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. At the same time, he caused the unworthy Isabella to go into permanent retirement in one of the royal castles.

While England was still suffering from the misgovernment of Isabella and Mortimer, the Scots broke the truce of 1323,

202. Renewal of Scottish wars (1328) crossed the border, and forced the regents to recognize Bruce as independent sovereign of Scotland in 1328.

Within a year Bruce died, leaving as heir a son David, five years old; but John Baliol's son Edward seized the throne (1332) and was supported by Edward III. The Scots took up the cause of David Bruce, but were totally defeated at Halidon Hill in 1333. Young Bruce sought a refuge in France, and Baliol, as king of Scotland, ceded to Edward III. all the territory south of the Forth, and did homage for the rest. During more than twenty years Baliol held his throne only when he was supported by an English army in Scotland, and in

1357 (the year after Baliol's death) Edward laid the foundations of a thirty years' peace with Scotland by acknowledging David Bruce as king, in return for the payment of 100,000 marks and the cession of the town of Berwick on Tweed.

Four years after Halidon Hill there broke out a great war between France and England which, continuing with short intervals from 1337 to 1453, is popularly known as the Hundred Years' War. It was provoked by Philip VI. of France (p. 221), who coveted Edward's French province of Guienne, and, while plotting to gain possession of it, sought to weaken his rival by promoting the Scottish struggle for independence, abetting the piracies of Frenchmen upon the English merchant vessels in the Channel, and destroying England's wool trade with his vassals, the Flemings. The war, says Gardiner, "was in reality waged to discover by an appeal to arms whether the whole of Aquitaine was to be incorporated with France and whether Scotland was to be incorporated with England."

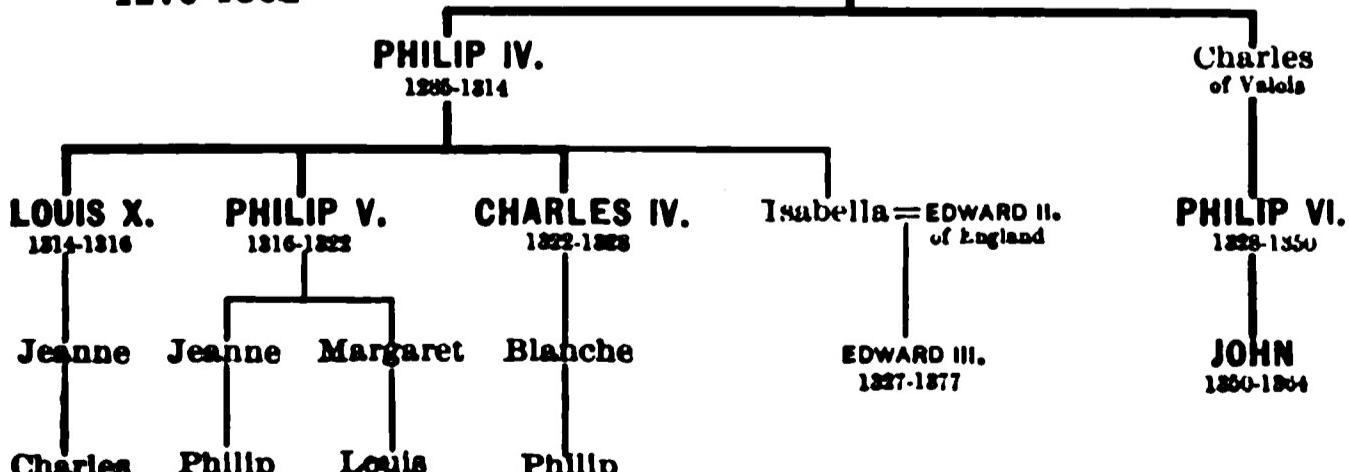
Unfortunately for England's future peace, Edward, in order to gain the alliance of Flanders, put forward a claim to the crown of France. His argument in support of this claim may be paraphrased as follows: "When King Charles IV.

203. Causes
of the Hun-
dred Years'
War (1337-
1453)

Student's
History,
234

KINGS OF FRANCE 1270-1864

PHILIP III. 1270-1286



RELATION OF EDWARD III. TO THE FRENCH SUCCESSION.

(Note that the crown might have been claimed for several French princes on grounds stronger than those of Edward.)



FRANCE IN THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.
Showing English territory in 1337; also in 1360 and in 1429.

of France died, in 1328, I, as the son of his sister Isabella, was his nearest male relative, and therefore rightful king of France, as I asserted at the time." This claim was now wholly untenable, because the peers of France had decided in favor of Philip's claim to the throne in 1328, and Edward had subsequently done homage to Philip for his French fief of Guienne.

It nevertheless served its purpose by enabling Edward's Flemish allies to claim that in aiding him they were serving "their overlord the King of France"; but it also led later English kings to expend blood and treasure in trying to make good Edward's empty boast.

In 1338 Edward assembled a strong army, invaded France by way of the Low Countries (the Netherlands), and marched here and there through the north of France, ravaging the country and laying siege to cities, but failing to lure the enemy into a decisive contest. The taxation required to support this futile war made it very unpopular, but the opposition grew less after a notable naval victory at Sluys in Flanders, where, in June, 1340, a French fleet of 190 ships was wholly destroyed by a slightly larger English fleet. This victory made England mistress of the Channel for a third of a century, and made it easy to carry men and equipment across for campaigns in France.

Edward returned to the invasion of France in 1341, only to repeat his previous futile operations, and to be compelled by lack of money and of success to sign another armistice. Parliament, however, granted him a fresh supply of money in return for some reforms in government. Soon a quarrel over the succession to the duchy of Brittany (in which Philip supported the principle of female succession and Edward maintained that females could not transmit the right of succession to the crown!) led to a third invasion of France, and to the brilliant and celebrated victory of Crécy, August 26, 1346.

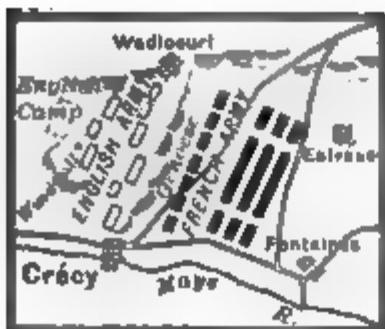
Having landed near Cape La Hogue with a small army, Edward ravaged the north of France, and finally threatened the French capital; but the king of France intercepted his march near St. Denis, and drove him northward to Crécy, which lay in his own principality of Ponthieu. Then, scorning to retreat on his own soil, he prepared to

204. First invasion of France (1338)

205. Campaigns of 1341 and 1346

206. Battle of Crécy (Aug. 26, 1346)

fight the vastly larger army of Philip. The English were posted on the slope of a hill in three masses, each consisting of men at arms and archers, the latter arranged like



BATTLE OF CRÉCY.

the pieces on a checkerboard so that each man had free play for his weapon. The French advanced in successive lines, the first containing 15,000 mercenary crossbowmen from Genoa, in Italy, and the others composed almost wholly of mounted knights in heavy armor.

Success went to the more intelligent combatants: the mounted knights were unwieldy, and too thickly massed, the English were light-armed, and in open order; the Genoese had allowed their bowstrings to be wetted by recent rains, while the English kept theirs dry under their coats; the French commanders lost their heads; the English were cool and self-

Froissart's contained. "When the Genoese . . . approached the *Chronicles*, English, they set up a loud shout in order to frighten ^{bk. i. ch. 55.} them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved. They hooted a third time, advancing with their crossbows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness that it seemed as if it snowed." As corps after corps of the French rode up, they were hurled against the English with less and less hope of success. At nightfall the French withdrew, leaving thousands of dead upon the field, including 1552 counts, barons, and knights, or half of the entire nobility of France.

The battle of Crécy is historically significant because it showed that the armor-encased mounted knight, fighting with striking and thrusting weapons, was destined to

give way to the more mobile foot soldier, armed with missile weapons. In spite of its brilliancy, the victory was on the whole disastrous to the English, for its success tempted them to further aggressions, while it brought the war no nearer to a close. Its immediate result was that Edward was able to move northward and lay siege to Calais, the possession of which he coveted as an open door into France, and as a means of checking the French pirates of the Channel. Philip induced David Bruce to invade England in order to draw Edward's forces back from the Continent, but at the battle of Nevilles Cross (1346) the Scots were repulsed and Bruce was captured. Calais was taken within a year, and was immediately populated with thousands of emigrants, chiefly English merchants and mariners; while such of its citizens as remained loyal to France were expelled.

After a lull in hostilities, during which the Black Death (§ 227) crippled the fighting power of England, the war was renewed in 1355, when Edward's son, the "Black Prince," ^{208 Second stage of the war} sought to win glory and wealth by invading southern France. Marching through Languedoc and Toulouse, he (1355-1360) penetrated clear to the Mediterranean Sea, but won no permanent advantage. The next year he marched northward toward the Loire, and the experience of Crécy was repeated



THREE STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIEVAL WEAPONS.

Crossbow, longbow, bombard with stone balls. From a MS. *Le Chronique de Saint Denis*, fourteenth century.

at Poitiers on September 19, 1356. Fourteen French counts and nineteen hundred French knights were slain in this battle; more important still, the king of France and his youngest son were taken prisoners. For the next four years the French suffered greatly from the ravages of the English forces, which ranged throughout the land at will, while the French, shutting themselves up within walled towns, made no resistance to their progress.

Since Bruce was acknowledged by Edward as king of Scotland in 1357, one chief ground for the war was already removed.

209. Peace of Bretigny (1360) France had suffered untold miseries, and was so poor as to furnish no plunder. "Nothing presented itself to . [the] eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, land uncultivated, houses in ruins." Finally peace was signed at Bretigny, in May, 1360. Edward abandoned his claim to the throne of France, and in return received free from vassalage the sovereignty of all Aquitaine, and of the districts around Calais and Ponthieu; for his personal ransom the king of France was to pay within six years the enormous sum of 3,000,000 pieces of gold, equivalent in purchasing power to at least \$40,000,000 now. By this apparently dazzling success, Edward really gained no advantage; for the ceded districts contained only some millions of disloyal subjects, the ransom was never paid, and in Charles V., the successor of the imprisoned king, Edward acquired a crafty and unscrupulous enemy. The war was renewed after a few years, and when the next truce was made (1375), the English had lost all their territory in France except a few coast cities.

210. Close of the reign During the last years of Edward III.'s reign England was sadly misgoverned. Edward was ill and in his dotage, the Black Prince was dying of fever, and the government was of necessity left to John of Gaunt, now Duke of Lancaster, and to certain favorites of the king. John, who was not fit for so important a task, became very unpopular;

and in 1376 the so-called Good Parliament endeavored to remedy matters by banishing obnoxious favorites of the king and by impeaching certain officers of the government who had embezzled public money and accepted bribes. Ten persons were nominated by the Parliament as an advisory council, not so much to gain immediate reform as to secure the succession on Edward's death to the little Prince Richard (son of the Black Prince), in whom the hopes of the nation were centered.

Richard II. became king in 1377 at eleven years of age, and the years of his minority were made turbulent by the struggle between his father's friends and those of John of Gaunt, 211. Early years of Richard a struggle in which the clergy under Wyclif (§ 222) bore a prominent part. The French seized this opportunity to renew the Hundred Years' War, and the enormous expenditure of money thus entailed led to a rebellion of the lower classes in England, under the leadership of Wat Tyler, in 1381 (§ 230). In 1386 Richard undertook the government, but he unwisely chose for his advisers the Earl of Suffolk, who was grasping, and the Earl of Oxford, who was frivolous. Their misgovernment led to a conspiracy of five great barons, later called Lords Appellant, — the Duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby (son of John of Gaunt), — who put so much pressure upon the king that he ruled acceptably for several years.

In 1396 Richard freed his hands for a struggle at home by securing a twenty-eight years' truce with France. He then broke the strength of the opposition by winning over Derby and Nottingham, and entered upon a course of tyranny. He secured his personal safety by keeping a bodyguard; revenged himself upon the other three obnoxious Lords Appellant by imprisoning one, executing another, and banishing the third; and induced a subservient Parliament to vote him a large annual tax for life, and to resign its power

into the hands of a committee of the king's friends. To obtain additional sums of money he levied forced loans and still worse extortions; and finally, with insane folly, he banished Nottingham and Derby, whom he had not long before made dukes of Norfolk and of Hereford respectively.

The death of John of Gaunt, in 1399, left his son, Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby and Duke of Hereford), heir to

^{218. The Lancastrian revolt} the possessions of the duchy of Lancaster. Richard now confiscated the Lancastrian estates, thus giving his rival Henry an excuse for invading England to assert his rights. Fortunately for Henry, serious rebellions broke out in Ireland, which required Richard's presence there. Henry



ALNWICK CASTLE.

Built at the time of the Norman conquest as a barrier to the Scots. Home of the Percys, 1309-1682.

promptly crossed to England and rallied to his support all the followers of his father, together with the Percys of Northumberland and other barons in the north of England who were hostile to Richard. By proclaiming everywhere that he came merely to redress the wrongs of the nation, he even won the support of the Duke of York, regent in Richard's absence. The king returned to find himself helpless in the hands of the man he had wronged, and was easily frightened into signing a paper absolving his subjects from fealty.

homage, and allegiance, and declaring himself worthy to be deposed.

The Parliament which met on the next day (September 30, 1399) declared that Richard had forfeited his crown through violation of his coronation oath and misgovernment, and set forth thirty-three distinct reasons why he should be deposed. The most notable were Richard's own assertions that "the laws were in his own mouth . . . and that he alone could change and frame the laws of the kingdom"; and that "the life of every liegeman, tenements, goods, and chattels, lay at his royal will without sentence of forfeiture." Richard having been formally deposed by vote of the Parliament, Henry of Lancaster claimed the crown of England, as being "descended by right line of the blood" from Henry III., and as the preserver of the realm which was "in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the good laws." Parliament acquiesced in this claim, and the new king was immediately crowned as Henry IV. by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, binding himself by oath to "act by common advice, counsel and consent," and to "do right by all people."

214. Depo-
sition of
Richard II.

During the fourteenth century, Parliament steadily gained in importance. (1) Edward II., in 1322, ratified a declaration of Parliament that "matters to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by our lord the king, and by consent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and commonalty of the realm, as hath been hitherto accustomed." This action made it illegal to enact statutes without the consent of the commons. (2) Between 1332 and 1341 arose the custom of dividing Parliament into two houses, with the lords and prelates sitting in one house and the knights, citizens, and burgesses in the other; and after 1341 Parliament remained

215. Par-
liamentary
progress
(1300-1400)

permanently a legislature of two houses. (3) During the next half century, the lower clergy, who preferred to act through Convocation, gradually ceased to obey the summons to Parliament, so that the bishops and archbishops and some mitred abbots¹ remained the only representatives of the clergy in Parliament after 1400. (4) The Good Parliament in 1376 established the right to impeach unsuitable ministers of the crown. (5) By the Statute of Provisors (1351) Parliament rescued the benefices of the English Church from the control of foreigners; and by the Statute of Præmunire (1353) it limited appeals to foreign courts, and excluded from England the legates of the Pope except when authorized by the monarch to exercise their functions there. (6) Finally, in deposing Richard II., Parliament showed that there was an authority above even that of the monarch — namely, that of the sovereign people.

During this century, too, advances were made in the methods of taxation. The monarchs had long had a right to levy

216. Finan- “tallages” (special taxes upon towns in the royal
cial prog- demesne); but as money was now provided by Par-
ress liament, the right was given up in 1340. With the

growth of the wool trade the monarch was forced to give up the practice of levying duties on wool (1362); but he gained the right to levy other customs duties. After 1373, Parliament regularly granted to every monarch in turn the right to levy “tunnage and poundage” duties on every tun of wine and pound of goods imported or exported, the theory being that this money would be spent on the defense of the realm. Another new source of revenue was the poll tax on all citizens, but this seemed so unjust that it was very unpopular.

¹ “Mitred” abbots were a class which during the rivalry between the monastic and secular clergy had assumed the right to wear mitres, as being on an equal rank with bishops, and for the same reason claimed to be peers of the realm.

The period from 1307 to 1399 saw the failure of Edward I's scheme of a unified Britain, because of mismanagement in the Scottish wars; but the lesson taught at Bannockburn—^{217. Summary} that skilled archers could put to rout the hitherto invincible mounted knight — was put to effective use in the long struggle with France that began in 1337. Profitless as were Crécy and Poitiers, they proved how superior was the free-spirited English yeoman to the arrogant aristocracy and the servile peasantry of France. At home, two unworthy monarchs were deposed on the authority of Parliament, which was now roughly representative of the nation, and fixed in form. The popular branch of Parliament, however, had not yet learned its strength, but still relied upon the leadership and support of the magnates of the upper house. At the same time, certain economic, social, and religious changes (described in the next chapter) were raising the masses of the people to a higher level, and thus making possible a real democracy in England.



LONGBOWMAN.
Time of Henry V.

TOPICS

- (1) Compare the various attempts thus far made by the barons to control the monarch through a committee of their number.
- (2) Compare Edward II.'s gifts of manors to his favorites with those of William I.
- (3) Classify the accusations against the deposed monarchs (technicalities, equity, expediency, etc.).
- (4) Why was a period of regency in England advantageous to the Scots and the French?
- (5) Estimate the importance of Berwick to England and to Scotland respectively.
- (6) Why should Edward III.'s absurd claim to be king of France make the Flemings more willing to join him against Philip?
- (7) What inference regarding the sincerity of Edward and of Philip do you draw from the resumption of hostilities in 1346?
- (8) Who would have succeeded Richard II.,

Suggestive topics

had not the Lancastrian revolution succeeded? (9) Were Richard's statements quoted in § 214 proofs of radical and irremediable evils in his government? (10) From what sources did Richard derive his absolutist sentiments? (11) Compare the offenses, and the treatment, of Edward II. and Richard II.

Search topics

- (12) A detailed study of Edward's claim to the throne of France.
- (13) The battle of Sluys, as illustrating naval tactics now obsolete.
- (14) The share of the Black Prince in the battle of Crécy.
- (15) Cannon at Crécy.
- (16) The experiences of a knight at Poitiers.
- (17) A session of Parliament.
- (18) A Scottish army.
- (19) British archers.
- (20) Later instances of the deposition of English sovereigns.
- (21) Captivity of the king of France.
- (22) Captivity of David Bruce.
- (23) Ireland from 1200 to 1400.

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CHAPTER XIV.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS (1250-1400)

THE period from 1250 to 1400 was marked by a notable advance in intelligence throughout England, which showed itself in an increasing demand for education among the well-to-do, in revolts of the lower classes against their conditions, and in a spirit of inquiry in religion. This awakening led to a rapid growth of the universities. Be-

218.
Growth of
universi-
ties



MERTON COLLEGE, THE FIRST OF THE OXFORD COLLEGES.

Founded by Walter de Merton, 1264.

tween 1260 and 1275, Walter de Merton and John Baliol (father of King John Baliol) founded the earliest "colleges" at Oxford, each with its separate buildings, separate board of government, and rich endowments, from which were supported a teaching staff, "fellows" (post-graduate students), and "scholars," a picked body of undergraduates. The new system of colleges rapidly displaced the older haphazard system; and

by the year 1400 Oxford embraced nine and Cambridge six colleges, each group being organized into a university.

The course of study in these institutions naturally expressed the needs and ideals of churchmen, either as priests or as civil 219. ~~Medie-~~ administrators. Separate institutions were organized ~~val studies~~ for the study of arts, of law, and of theology. In the last two the study was distinctly technical; in the first there was the *quadrivium*, an introductory course in geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy; and the *trivium*, an advanced course in grammar, logic, and rhetoric. It should be remembered that the term "grammar" means Latin grammar (Greek being at this time practically unknown in England); that the term "geometry" then meant little more than the elements of geographical mensuration; that in arithmetic the study of compound proportion and the decimal system of notation were not in common use; and that the entire astronomical theory of the time was based on a fundamental error, the assumption that the earth is the stationary center of the planets, sun, and all stars.

Here and there a student of unusual independence ventured beyond the narrow bounds then set, and won immediate perse- 220. Friar cution but future renown by investigating the mysteries Roger Bacon of natural science.. Such a man was Roger Bacon (1214- (1214-1294) 1294), a Franciscan friar, who in his zeal for knowledge mastered not only the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but also the Arabic; who studied not only the mental and physical philosophy and scientific explorations of Aristotle, but also the scientific discoveries of Oriental investigators. He invented and applied magnifying lenses, discovered anew the properties of gunpowder (already known to the Chinese), and made great advances in mathematics and its application to astronomy. But the spirit of the age was against him, and he lived, as he himself said, "unheard, forgotten, buried."

By the middle of the fourteenth century the friars, like the

monks, had in a large degree lost their purity of character and become corrupted through the temptations peculiar to their conditions — their roving life and their power of playing upon the superstition of the families to which their religious mission gave them admittance. Yet the public conscience proved trustworthy, even when its professed teachers failed in their duty; and in such work as *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*, written by William Langland between 1362 and 1393, we find proof of a growing desire for a purer religion. This poem attacks the friars who aid Pride, Envy, and Sloth to corrupt the church and stifle the individual conscience, and narrates how Conscience is obliged to reject the guidance of those recreant servants of religion and depend upon itself to find Christ, the Savior (identified with the despised laborer "Piers the Plowman").

At the same time, the church itself was scathingly criticised by John Wyclif (1324-1384), Master of Balliol College, Oxford, who thought that irreligion and worldliness among the secular clergy were due to the close connection between church and state. His zeal gave rise to a new sect, nicknamed the Lollards (psalm-singing loafers). The Lollards demanded that churchmen be no longer employed in the public service, and they clamored for the reform of church abuses, including (1) "simony," or the purchase of lucrative benefices; (2) "pluralities," or the holding of several benefices by a single clergyman, who enjoyed the revenues but left most of his pastoral cares to cheaply paid assistants; and (3) "absenteeism," or the holding of a living in one parish while residing in another.

Wyclif himself believed that the clergy, in accordance with Christ's teachings, ought to remain poor; and he urged that the church be disestablished, and all its property confiscated to the uses of the state. He still further shocked his superiors by (1) denying the supremacy of

221. Reaction against the friars
(1350-1400)

222. Rise of the Lollards
(1378-1400)

223. Wyclif's teachings

the Pope over the other bishops of the church and his authority "to bind and to loose" by excommunication, and (2) denying transubstantiation, the important Roman Catholic dogma that, at the celebration of the mass, the *substance* composing the bread and wine is miraculously changed into the

body and blood of Christ. Attacked by the church officials for heresy, he was saved once by the interference of John of Gaunt, and once by that of King Richard's mother; on a third occasion he found himself strong enough to ignore the decree of a church council.

The secret of Wycliffe's influence lay in the fact that by a translation of the entire Bible into English, prepared by himself



JOHN WYCLIFFE.

From an old print.

and his pupils, he opened the more important portions of Scripture to the general reader. Equipped with these weapons, missionary priests trained by him went all over England, to tell the people that they were being defrauded by their religious teachers, since they were losing the true Gospel teaching necessary for the salvation of their souls, and since the wealth bequeathed to the church for the needs of the poor was wasted. So widespread was the movement that it was said "every other man you meet is a Lollard"; so far-reaching was their teaching that twice (in 1404 and in 1410)

it was seriously proposed in the lower house of Parliament to confiscate the temporalities of the church.

Ever since the Norman conquest there had been slowly developing a new tongue, the modern English language. The language of the ruling classes after the conquest was, of course, Norman French, and to this the natives were obliged to adapt their own speech. The result was that about a third of the Anglo-Saxon words formerly in use were discarded for their French equivalents, and the other two thirds (the homely terms required for everyday use) lost most of their numerous grammatical inflections; for instance, half a dozen different plural endings for nouns. Moreover, the language gained many new words referring to Norman manners and customs — to hunting and hawking, to architecture and the other arts, to law and to religion. Poetry, too, changed its form. Under the Anglo-Saxons, alliteration was the essential element in poetic form; under the Normans, rhyme and meter were the essentials, final *e* being in English, as in French at that time, always pronounced as a separate syllable.

There are two or three notable landmarks in the history of the new English language: one when the first royal proclamation was made in English (1258); another when instruction in the schools was first given in English (1349); and another when the use of English was authorized in the law courts (1362). Up to this time all the English poems had been "written in dialects of English." Now "a standard English language was born. . . . It was fixed in clear form by Chaucer and Gower. . . . It was the King's English, and the fact that it was the tongue of the best and most cultivated society, as well as the great excellence of the works written in it by these poets, made it at once the tongue of literature." Moreover, its existence proved that the process of blending conquerors and conquered, Normans and Anglo-Saxons, into a new English people, was now an accomplished fact.

224. English language and literature

Brooke,
English
Literature,
ch. ii.

For information regarding the state of English society as it existed in the middle of the fourteenth century, the student need only turn to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The tales themselves are drawn very largely from Continental romances, but in their Prologue, which describes a company assembled at the Tabard Inn at Southwark, on their way



CHAUCER'S PILGRIMS SETTING OUT FROM THE TABARD INN.
From Urry's *Chaucer*, 1721; probably copied from a print made before the burning of the inn in 1676.

to the shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, Chaucer depicted for posterity every important type among the middle classes in England.

In the Knight and his Squier we are shown the temper of the crusader, who ever

"loved chivalrie,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curtale,"

and of the troubadour, who

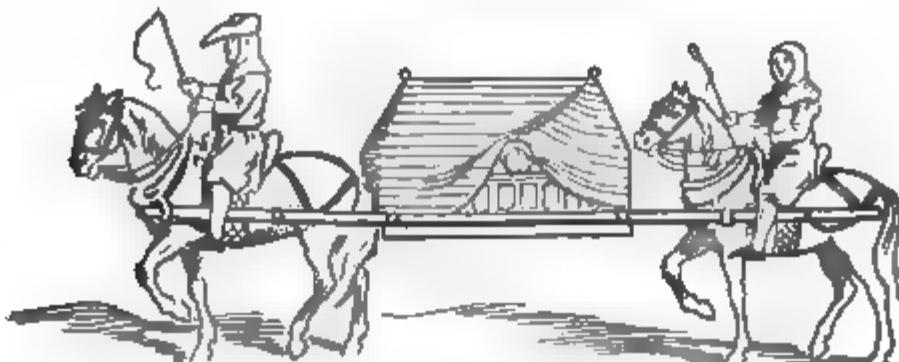
"Coulde songes make, and well endite,
Juste and eke dance, and well pourtraie and write.
So hote he loved, that by nightertale
He slep no more than doth the nightingale."

In the account of the Merchant and the smuggling Shipman, we see the system of international exchange, of

business credit, and of customs duties, and the demand for state suppression of piracy; the Sergeant of the Law knows by rote not only all the old "dooms" (judgments) as far back as the Norman conquest, but also the latest statute laws of King Edward; the Clerk from Oxenforde and the Doctour of Physike share the new interest in intellectual pursuits, and its accompanying tendency toward independence in religion; and the several ecclesiastics show the vices which gave ground for public criticism. The sentimentality of the nuns, the laziness and luxury of the monks, the sensuality of the friars, the greediness and trickery of the pardoners, all are set forth with merciless frankness, and are sharply contrasted with the holiness and devotion of the parish priest, who not only taught

"Christes bore,
But first he folwed it himselfe."

All the political divisions are represented in this company. From the towns have come the haberdasher, the carpenter, and the weaver, wearing the livery of their trade and craft



LADY TRAVELING IN A HORSE LITTER, 1325.
From a MS. *Gestes des Rois de France*, fourteenth century.

guilds; the widow of a wealthy citizen; and the petty officers of the Temple and the church courts. From the rural districts are gathered the freeholder with lands extensive enough to qualify him to serve as knight of the shire, with the reeve of the manor, its miller, its plowman, its cook, its forester.

Nowhere else is to be found so comprehensive a picture of mediæval England as this from the pen of the Father of English Literature,

“Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled.”

This picture suggests also the change by which the feudalism of the Norman period became the “chivalry” of the Angevin or Plantagenet period. Knighthood, originally concerned with landed possessions and military service on horseback, had gradually come to concern itself with standards of honor, courtesy, and duty, and with social laws. It was now an order into which applicants were initiated with ceremony after an arduous apprenticeship, and which bound its members to aid the oppressed, to honor women, and to maintain the right. As professional soldiers displaced the feudal levies, as kings gained power at the expense of their vassals, as the rise of towns and manufactures reduced the number of feudal dependents, the ornamental side of feudalism grew at the expense of its serious side. Tournaments, or sham battles, became common in England about the time of Edward I.; instead of founding a working order like the Knights Templars, Edward III. instituted the purely social and decorative order of the Knights of the Garter; the same monarch instituted courts of chivalry to try offending knights and to determine points of honor; heraldry, or the distinguishing of families by symbolic “coats of arms,” was gradually raised to a science. Chaucer, who refers again and again to knights and tournaments, makes even Virginius, the ancient Roman hero, a “knight.”

Before Chaucer had penned his descriptions, a calamity fell upon England which disturbed the normal development of

The English social institutions, and in a few generations “Black Death” produced a most sweeping transformation. This was the celebrated “Black Death,” which ravaged Europe and reached England in the summer of 1348. At this time the

mass of the population, both in the towns and in the country, lived under very unhealthful conditions, which in 1348 were aggravated by a rainy season. For thirteen weary months England suffered from the scourge, which assumed the form of violent typhus fever, accompanied by eruptions and black blotches on the surface of the skin. The manorial rolls show that half of the rural population died within a year. Among the victims were a daughter of Edward III., two archbishops of Canterbury, and an enormous number of the clergy, whose religious duties took them constantly to the bedsides of the sick. In Yorkshire, half of the parish priests fell victims to duty, and the records of the Franciscan friars show that one hundred and twenty-four thousand of them met the same fate. Business at Bristol was so interrupted that grass grew in the market place; in London a new cemetery thirteen acres in extent had to be provided to receive the bodies of the fifty thousand people struck down by the disease. The Black Death found England with a population of four millions; it left England with but two millions.

So vast a mortality among the working classes wholly altered the conditions of agricultural labor in England. On many manors there were few or no villeins left alive, and the landholders were obliged to offer high wages in open market for laborers. This led the laborers on other manors, where the lords had already commuted the irregular rents and services of villeins for money and were employing day labor, to demand increased pay; but their lords, in turn, repudiated their agreement to commute rents and services for money, and required from all former villeins their customary amount of weekly labor at plowing, sowing, harvesting, woodcutting, etc. Where this failed, they, too, were forced to bid for labor. The offer of high wages tempted villeins to leave their manors, thus creating vagabondage and conflicts of authority.

228. Rapid spread of the wage system

In 1349 Edward III. decreed that every able-bodied man and woman of the kingdom, bond or free, under sixty years of age, should accept the same wages as before the Black Death, and forbade any one to give charity to an able-bodied laborer. In 1351 Parliament enacted a Statute of Laborers, which empowered conservators of the peace, now called justices of the peace, to establish a legal rate of wages. This produced little effect, and in 1360 a statute was framed, which provided that a laborer who deserted his manor should be imprisoned and branded in the forehead.

Whenever such painful changes occur as a result of irresistible economic laws, the less intelligent classes are prone to **229. Discontent among the peasants** lay the blame upon the government. To thirty years' brooding over their wrongs may be attributed the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. The villeins were stirred to rebellion through comparison of their lot with that of the free tenants; the townspeople resented tolls and market fees which raised the price of provisions, and the heavy taxation due to useless foreign wars.

The peasants were especially affected by the teachings of a priest named John Ball, who went about Kent urging the lower classes to organize a communistic state by abolishing class distinctions and the private ownership of land. "Are *Froissart, Chronicles, bk. ii. ch. 3* we not descended," he cried, "from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they [the upper classes] show, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than ourselves? . . . They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth; they have wines, spices, and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw, and if we drink, it must be water; . . . but it is from our labor they have wherewith to support their pomp!" Thousands were made ripe for revolt by such teachings, condensed into the doggerel couplet,

"When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

In 1380 a poll tax was laid upon all persons over fifteen years old, the money to be spent upon the French wars. The next year a brutal tax collector, in Kent, insulted the daughter of an artisan named Wat Tyler, who promptly struck him dead and rallied to his support all the discontented men in the neighborhood. Plunder and the murder of tax collectors and other government officers followed in various parts of England; mobs overran Hertfordshire and Essex, destroyed much property in an attempt to burn up the manorial copy rolls, released John Ball from prison, and concentrated on London, demanding the abolition of villenage, the total withdrawal of certain taxes and the adoption of a reasonable rate for the rest, and free pardon for all concerned in the movement. At this time Richard II. was only fifteen years old, but he had great courage, and shrewdness far beyond his years. Tyler was killed in a scuffle, and the king himself assumed the leadership of the insurgents, pledging his word for the redress of grievances. Thirty clerks were set at work drawing up new charters, and the insurgents dispersed. Then the King's Council again assumed control, and by seizing and executing the leaders individually, stamped out the revolt everywhere.

Neither kings, nor Parliament, nor the execution of rebels, nor labor legislation could check the operation of economic laws. The lords of the manors were obliged either to hire laborers at their own terms or to seek a profit from their estates and stock by leasing both in small lots to the more enterprising of the former villeins. Thus arose the modern type of small farmer, paying rent to a landlord and paying wages to his laborers. Villenage now practically disappeared; for, although the law covered all villeins who broke their contracts, labor was scarce, and "men in prison reap

230. Wat
Tyler's Re-
bellion
(1381)

231. Per-
manent
industrial
changes

no fields." Indeed, in the years succeeding the Black Death not all the laborers in England would have sufficed to till the arable land; and, in consequence, a further involuntary change was brought about. During the next two centuries wool growing, which required but comparatively little labor, and which constantly became more profitable with the development of manufactures, by degrees replaced agriculture as a source of revenue on the greater manors.

Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the entire crop of English-raised wool was shipped to Flanders for manufac-

232. **Rise of manufacture and commerce** ture, where, in Bruges, Ghent, Lille, and Ypres, forty thousand looms were busy converting it into cloth fabrics to be reimported into England for sale. Edward III.

saw that this was economically wasteful, so he took measures to induce skilled Flemish weavers to immigrate into England; he also restricted the exportation of wool and the importation of woolen cloth, thereby building up the English cloth manufacturing industry. More important still, he helped to create an English mercantile marine, to destroy the monopoly of trade hitherto enjoyed by the Hanseatic League.

This Hansa, founded in 1169 for the defense of vessels in the Baltic and North seas against piracy, later included all the great trading towns of north Germany. So powerful was it that it maintained armies and fleets, made treaties like a sovereign state, and monopolized for a time the trade of northern Europe. It was no small triumph for the English merchants to compete successfully against the Hanse merchants, with their great weighing depot called the Steelyard in London, their monopoly of the right to trade with northern Europe, and their vast capital and agencies for exchange.

A curious indirect result of the rise of manufactures and 233. **Changes in fashions of dress** commerce in England was a change in the standards of living. Laws passed during this period, especially in regard to wearing apparel, testify to luxurious tastes and

habits hitherto unknown. "One ordinance sets out that 'shepherds and all manner of people attending to husbandry are not to wear any manner of cloth except blanket and russet wool of 12d. a yard ;' another, 'that the poor come to eat in a manner that pertaineth to them, and not excessively.' *Finnemore, Social Life in England, 148, 149* No age was marked by greater splendour and more costly extravagance than that of Edward III., when many of these laws were passed. Both men and women wore a tight-fitting dress called a 'cotte-hardie,' and over this a large mantle buttoned at the shoulder. Both of these garments were magnificently embroidered, made of the richest and most expensive materials, and of the gayest hues, scarlet or some equally brilliant colour. The head was covered by a small hood decorated with gold, silver, and jewels. The men wore parti-coloured hose, and their shoes had long points curling upwards, sometimes so long that they were looped to the knee with chains of gold."

A further result of the growth of commerce was the rapid development of a rudimentary international law. Before the fourteenth century, a noble had certain recognized rights the world over, but a merchant, outside of the limits of his native state, had no rights: if he died abroad he could leave no valid will for the disposal of his property; if his vessel was wrecked on a foreign shore, ship and property became the possession of the lord of that coast. Edward III. established certain "staple towns," in which foreign commerce was carried on under the super-

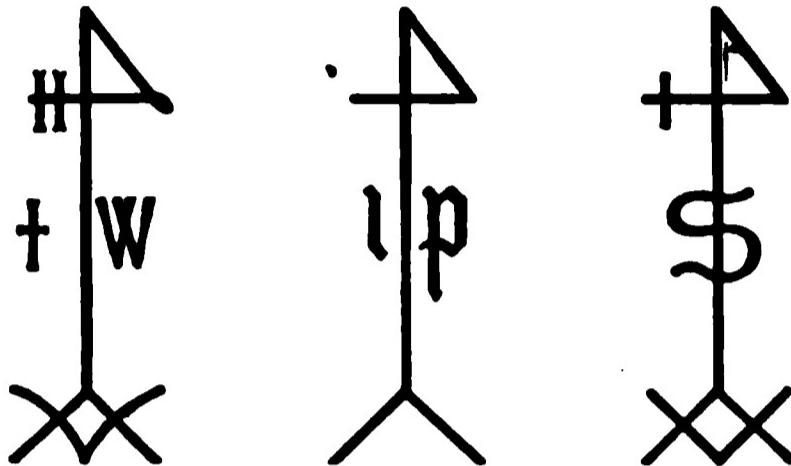


MEN'S COSTUME,
TIME OF EDWARD III.

Chains at knee to hold up
the points of shoes in
walking.

*234. Rise
of inter-
national
law*

vision and protection of responsible authorities, and he regulated the rights and privileges of foreign merchants. Finding



STAPLE MARKS OF MERCHANTS,
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

John Walden. John Prowse. George Slee.

cargoes in crossing the Channel; for in order to do this he was led to put forth a claim to the sovereignty of the "narrow seas" (all the coast waters of Britain); and the maintenance of this claim fostered the maritime spirit of the English people, and powerfully influenced their history during three hundred years.

In the later Plantagenet period, England underwent an intellectual and an industrial revolution. By the former the fa-

**235. sum-
mary** vored few were initiated into the larger intellectual life which comes through the knowledge of books and associa-

tion with thinkers; by the latter the masses were freed from the bonds of the personal-service system of labor, emerging into the comparative freedom of the competitive-wage system. The intellectual uplift, whether it found expression in the movement for religious reform or in that for scientific research, had to contend against tradition and settled beliefs. Its champions therefore failed to accomplish their immediate aims; but the influence of Wyclif, imparted to certain students from Bohemia then residing at Oxford, was reflected back to England in the later labor of disciples of Huss, Luther, and Calvin. The industrial uplift was apparently a more immediate success;

that Englishmen were still at a disadvantage in foreign trade, he made Calais a staple town; and he chartered a Mercer's Company which was the nucleus of the later Company of Merchant Adventurers (§ 275). Still more important was his attempt to protect merchant

but in compelling the lords to resort to sheep farming, the villein was blindly destroying his rights to the soil, and was hastening the day when he and his kind would have to exchange the field for the factory, and the spade and mattock for the machine.

TOPICS

(1) Why should contemporary writers exaggerate the vices of the friars, and ignore their great services to the community? (2) Contrast the uses of the term "college" in England and in the United States. (3) What is the origin of the term "simony"? (4) Do you know of any modern instances where John Ball's remedy for poverty has been proposed? (5) What serious objections may be framed to his remedies? (6) What advantage did the villeins hope to gain by destroying the manorial records? (7) Why are sumptuary laws generally ineffective? (8) Why do modern highly civilized nations never suffer from a Black Death? (9) Why was the commutation of villein labor for money before the Black Death profitable for both lord and villein? (10) What were the rates of the poll tax of 1380; were they equitable?

(11) Life at an English university. (12) Mediæval science; astrology and alchemy. (13) Chaucer's life as an equipment for his literary work. (14) Some peculiarities of Wyclif's translation of the Bible. (15) Chaucer's portrait of the monk and the nun. (16) The Hanseatic League compared with a modern trust. (17) Accounts of the Black Death. (18) Contemporary accounts of Wat Tyler's rebellion. (19) What did the English know of Aristotle? (20) A state dinner of the period. (21) A ship in the time of Edward III.

Suggestive topics

Search topics

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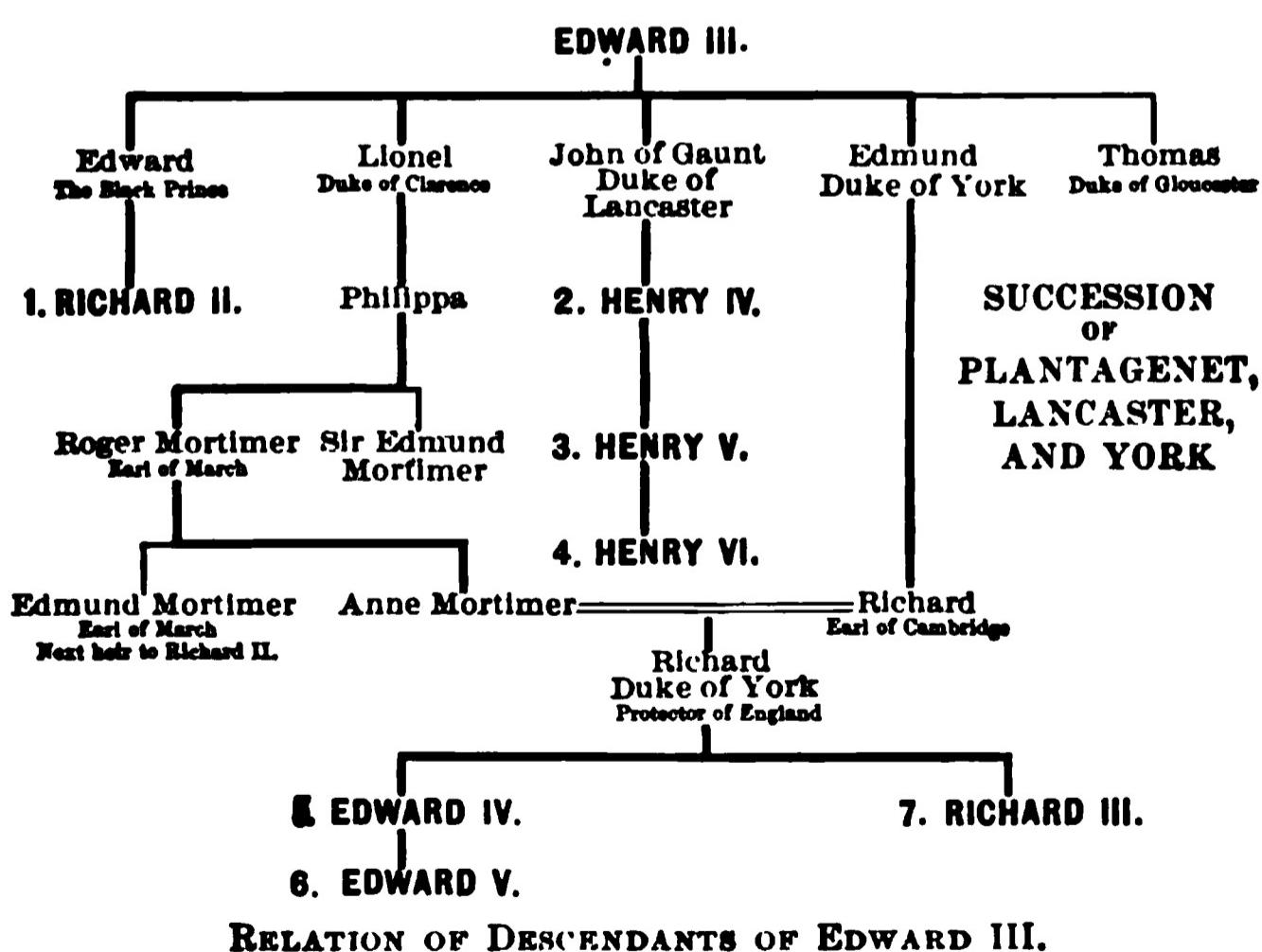
Illustrative work

Southey, *Wat Tyler*.

CHAPTER XV.

FOREIGN WARS UNDER THE LANCASTRIAN KINGS (1399–1453)

HENRY IV.'s brief reign of fourteen years was marked by few striking events; but it was of great importance in English constitutional history because of the peculiar position of **236. Reign of Henry IV. (1399–1413)** the monarch. Although of the blood royal, he could not claim the throne by inheritance, for there were several heirs nearer than he, the nearest, after the deposed King Richard, being Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, then seven



years old. As the creature of Parliament, Henry was obliged to defer to the wishes of the great barons and churchmen

who dominated that body; and he knew that they supported him chiefly because they hated the deposed king, and because they were unwilling to have the throne again occupied by a minor. Harassed by the factional quarrels that always come with revolution, threatened by the French, the Scots, and the Welsh, only a king who had a strong hand could have retained his grasp on the scepter; but this strong hand Henry possessed.

During his reign Henry overcame nine separate conspiracies and invasions. He took advantage of the first of these, a con-

237. Re- spiracy among the late king's partisans, to cause Richard
volts in the to be put to death. Aided by the splendid military abili-
west and ties of the Percys, lords of the marches in Northumber-
north land, he checked the invasions of the Scots, and held
(1400-1403) back a Welsh chief, Owen Glendower, now in open rebellion; but an error of judgment soon turned these supporters into enemies. Sir Edmund Mortimer, an uncle of the young Earl of March, was taken prisoner by Glendower, and his brother-in-law "young Harry Hotspur," the most brilliant fighter among the Percys, demanded that the king should secure his release. Henry ungraciously refused, and Hotspur, enraged at such ingratitude, induced his father, Earl of Northumberland, and his uncle, Earl of Worcester, to rebel against Henry and join forces with their late enemies, the Scots and the Welsh; thus the entire strength of the north was speedily joined to that of the west, and by proclaiming the little Earl of March king, they drew still more recruits.

Henry promptly attacked the rebels; and in July, 1403, fought a battle at Shrewsbury, killed Hotspur, and captured

238. Resto- and executed his uncle. A renewal of the rising (1408)
ration of led to the execution of the Earl of Northumberland.
order

Thus all the chief conspirators in England perished, and the fortunate capture of the son of the king of Scotland soon afterward rendered further trouble from the Scots un-

likely. Feeling, probably, that religious excitements might promote agitation for political changes, Henry made himself the champion of orthodoxy in religion. With his assent the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo* was passed in 1401, which decreed the burning alive of persons convicted of heresy for the second time. Under this statute many of the Lollards suffered imprisonment and death. Henry IV. suffered from ill health after 1407, and the young Prince Henry was forced to assume most of the burden of administering the government, until his father's death in the year 1413.

Henry V., although he reigned only nine years, has always been a notable figure in English history, partly through his romantic and attractive personality, partly because he was the last English monarch to win renown in the long struggle with France. Shakespeare's picture of him in *Henry IV.*, where he is represented as devoting his youth to riotous amusements with coarse companions, is wide of the truth. He was trained in administration and the art of war from his very boyhood, having been made Earl of Chester and intrusted with the guardianship of the Welsh border under Hotspur's direction when only twelve years of age. He was a strong ruler, self-controlled, industrious, earnest, and religious. Unfortunately, he felt that honor bound him to maintain the English claims on France; and perhaps he sought the safety of a usurping monarch by dazzling his subjects with military



CHURCH ON SITE OF SHREWSBURY
BATTLEFIELD.

²³⁹ Henry
V. (1413-
1422)

glory and employing their surplus energies in foreign expeditions. However brilliant his immediate success, Henry's foreign policy was disastrous to England and to his own dynasty.

Political dissensions in France at Henry's accession to the throne appeared to invite the interference of an enterprising monarch. The king of France, Charles VI., was insane; his cousin the Duke of Burgundy and his brother the Duke of Orleans were engaged in a blood feud; and the youthful Dauphin (heir to the French throne), as regent, was powerless to preserve order. The Duke of Burgundy was also Count of Flanders, a province with which England enjoyed the closest trade relations; and in 1413, as the Orleanists were gaining ground, he turned for aid to Henry V., and

was ready to recognize the almost obsolete claims of the English monarchs to the crown of France.

In the year 1415 Henry landed on the coast of Normandy with a

#41. Re- force consisting of 6000
newal of the men at arms, 21,000 archers,
Hundred and a considerable
Years' War body of artillery. He
wasted five weeks in the siege
and capture of the unimportant
town of Harfleur, and
lost more than half of his
troops there through camp
fever. Then, after leaving

¹ These mottoes are from contemporary gamblers' slang. After the assassination of Louis by John, Parisians said, "Le baton épineux a été râclé par le rabot" (The knotty stick has been smoothed by the plane).

#40. Condi-
tions in
France
(1413)



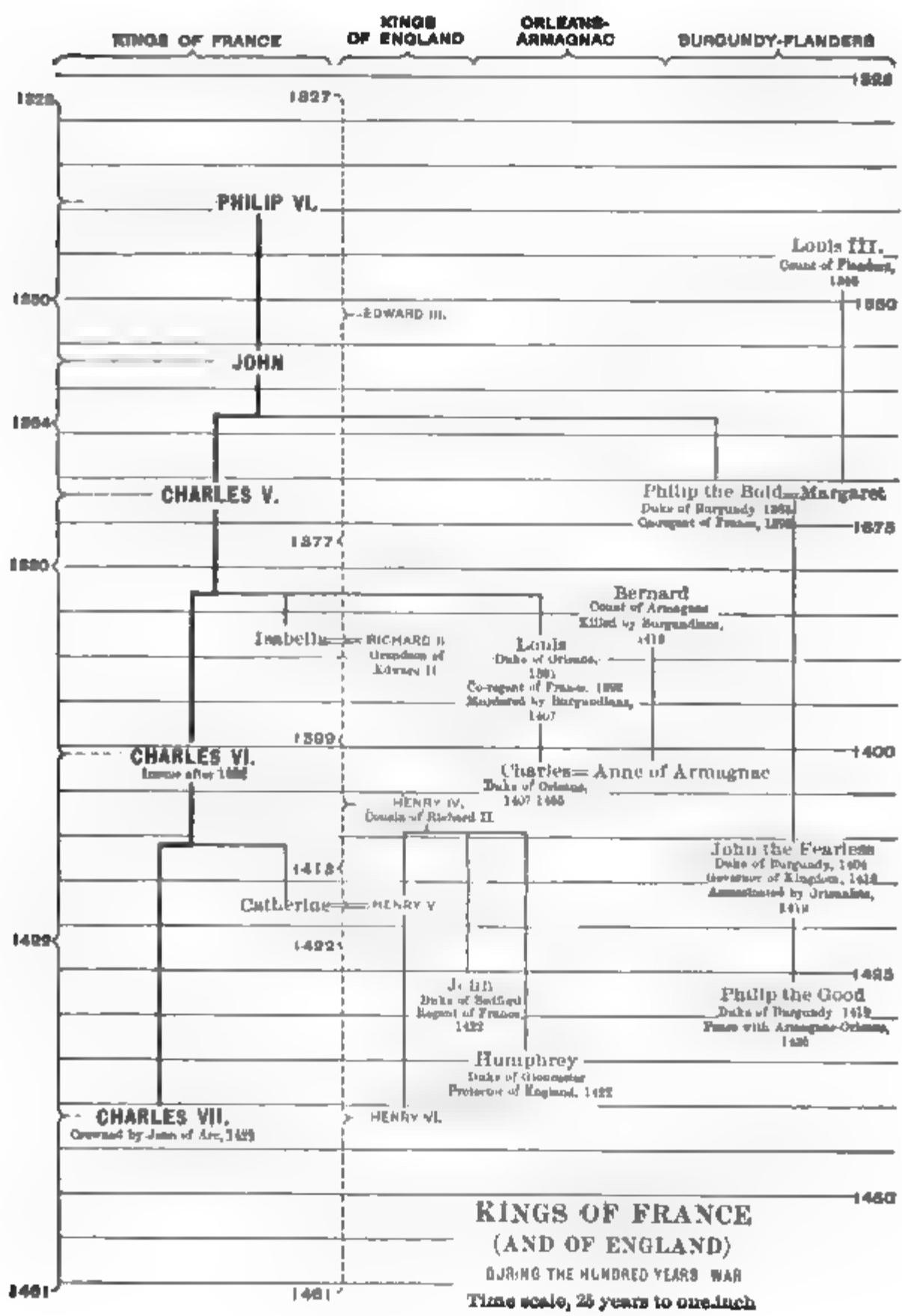
HERALDIC DEVICE
OF LOUIS, DUKE
OF ORLEANS.

"I defy you."¹



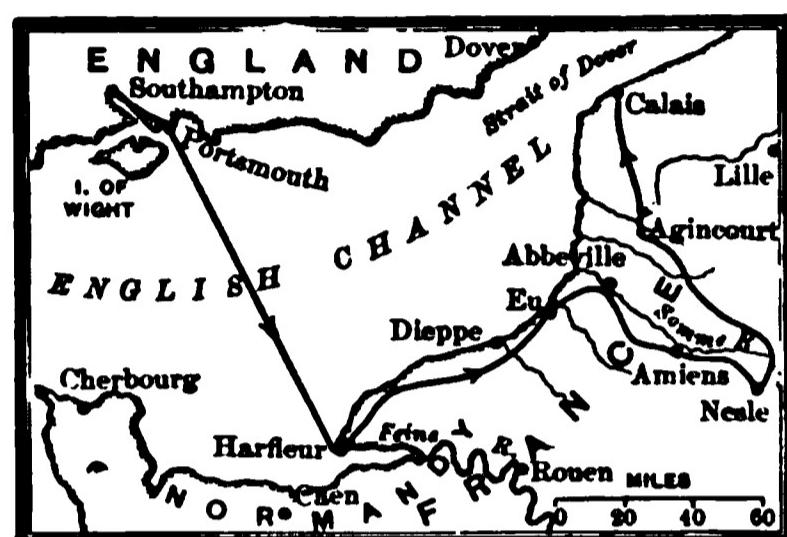
HERALDIC DEVICE OF JOHN, DUKE
OF BURGUNDY.

"I hold it"¹ [i.e. the king and kingdom].



1200 men for the garrison of the place, he found himself so much weakened that he could not hope either to subdue Normandy or to capture Paris; so, in a spirit of boyish bravado,

he determined to insult the enemy by marching along the coast of France from Harfleur to Calais. He was obliged to turn inland along the Somme for more than fifty miles, in order to reach a ford, and then found his march barred at Agincourt by



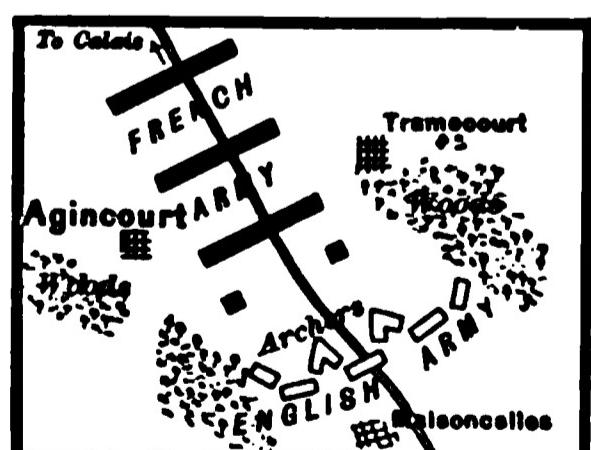
ROUTE OF HENRY V., 1415.

an Orleanist army of more than three times his own force, and could not escape a combat.

This battle of Agincourt, October 5, 1415, was essentially a repetition of the brilliant events at Crécy and Poitiers, and its

242. Battle of Agincourt (Oct. 5, 1415) results were no more far-reaching. The Constable of France, three dukes, seven counts, and ninety barons were killed, and fifteen hundred prisoners of rank, including the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, were taken; while of common soldiers more were slain than the entire English army numbered. The English lost only two peers of note, and only sixteen hundred of the soldiery; but Henry's forces were so scanty and so much exhausted by the strain of the campaign that he was unable to reap any fruits from this victory, and felt compelled to proceed to Calais, and thence to England.

While Henry was carrying on a second invasion, four years later, the Dauphin caused the Duke of Burgundy to be assassinated. The enraged Burgundians vowed that the Dauphin



BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

should never reign in France, accepted the English as sovereigns over all their possessions in the north of France, and in 1420 negotiated the treaty of Troyes, by which Henry was recognized as regent of France, with the right of succession to the throne upon the death of the imbecile king; and the interests of the French and English royal families were harmonized by the marriage of Henry to the Dauphin's sister Catherine. The Orleanists refused to give up the struggle; and Henry, while attempting to conquer a portion of the territory south of the Loire, fell a victim to the unhealthful conditions of camp life in a rainy season. His death in 1422, when only thirty-five years old, left France and England exposed to the evils of government by a regency, for his son and heir was a weakly infant, less than one year old.

243. Henry's marriage and death
(1420-1422)

This son, Henry VI., was promptly proclaimed king of France at Paris, but the south adhered to the party of the former Dauphin, now King Charles VII. While one of Henry's uncles (the Duke of Gloucester) was made Protector in England, another (the Duke of Bedford) was made Regent in France. The only important position held by the Orleanists north of the Loire was the city of Orleans, and to this Bedford laid vigorous siege in 1428. Now appeared a new factor in the contest in the person of a peasant maiden from Domremy, in the district of Lorraine.

244. Minority of Henry VI.

This maiden, Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc), believed herself commissioned by God to reconcile the warring factions, and to rouse the patriotism of the monarch and his officers by her own example. She therefore went to the king and asked for authority to raise the siege of Orleans, declaring that (1429-1431) God would guide her efforts to save her country from an alien tyranny, and would ultimately enable her to crown him, as all his ancestors had been crowned, in the cathedral at Rheims—now in the heart of the territory held by the English. She proceeded to Orleans with an army in April, 1429, inspired the

245. Career of Jeanne d'Arc
(1429-1431)



Carbur by Braun & Co.

JEANNE D'ARC AT THE ALTAR OF ST.
CATHERINE.

Painting by G. Doyen.

garrison with her own enthusiasm, dispersed the English forces investing that city, routed the enemy in battle after battle, and in twelve weeks fulfilled her promise by conducting Charles in state to be crowned at Rheims. The English power in France seemed doomed; but, in the spring of 1431, Jeanne was taken prisoner by the Burgundians. Her captors sold her into the hands of the English; and after an ecclesiastical trial before the Bishop of Beauvais, a tool of the English, she was burned to death as a witch (May 30, 1431).

Meanwhile England was split into factions by the relatives of the young king. Gloucester, the protector, was at swords' **346** End of points with his uncle Henry Beaufort, a cardinal of the church and the richest man in England. Gloucester swayed the masses; Beaufort ruled the King's Council. Gloucester wanted to continue the French war; Beaufort pointed out the folly of trying to force foreign rule upon a great nation like France. Events proved that he was right,

*the Hun-
dred Years'
War (1453)*

for after the death of Jeanne d'Arc the English steadily lost ground. In 1435 Bedford died; the Burgundians then made peace with the Orleanists; and the English were soon driven into Calais in the north, and into Bordeaux and Bayonne in the south.

With every failure of the English arms, Parliament grew more unwilling to vote supplies for the war, and finally Beaufort's counsels prevailed. In 1444 a truce was agreed upon, and a marriage was negotiated between the king (now of full age) and Margaret of Anjou, niece of the French monarch. There was desultory fighting for a few years more; and then, in 1453, after England had lost all her territory in France except Calais, the Hundred Years' War came to an inglorious end. No formal treaty of peace was signed, and the English monarchs continued to style themselves kings of France until 1801, but the two countries were thenceforth wholly separate.

During the Lancastrian period, the powers of Parliament were both strengthened and enlarged. In 1407 Henry IV. agreed that all grants of money should originate in the lower house, thereby giving to the Commons control of the public purse. At the same time he acknowledged the absolute freedom of both houses to discuss the various details of these grants, and to stipulate for what they should be used. Three times in this reign Parliament interfered with the king's choice of his council, and on one occasion it caused the removal of certain objectionable councilors — a long step toward making the king's ministers responsible to Parliament. It often happened that after Parliament had petitioned the king that certain laws might be enacted and his assent had been given, his crafty ministers framed a statute which appeared to embody the substance of the petition, but was really of a quite different purport. Therefore in 1414 the king was made to agree that "fro hensforth no thyng be en-

247. In-
creased
powers of
Parliament

acted to the Petitions of his Commune that be contrarie to thir askyng." The increased importance of Parliament is further shown by the fact that after 1430 only those who possessed freehold property worth 40 shillings a year were allowed to vote for knights of the shire.

The Lancastrian kings were led by the weakness of their position to make many concessions to Parliament, and they ^{248. Sum-} tried to interest the more restless of their subjects in ^{mary} foreign conquest, for which France seemed the best opportunity. The military genius of Henry V., as displayed at Agincourt, raised high hopes of gaining the crown of France; but the weakness of his claims to the throne, the unconquerable hatred of the French for the English, the patriotic movement headed by Jeanne d'Arc, and the dissensions at home throughout the reign of Henry VI. bore their inevitable fruits of disaster and final failure. Since the long-drawn-out French wars called for enormous expenditures of money, Parliament took increased control over the national finances.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) Was there any reason why Henry IV. should be unwilling to ransom Sir Edmund Mortimer? (2) Show that Henry V., although lawful monarch of England, had no right to the throne of France. (3) Can you account for the small fatality among the English soldiers at Agincourt? (4) Trace the history of the various English regencies up to this time. (5) Can you account for the ease with which the English were beaten by Jeanne d'Arc? (6) Why should the Commons insist that money bills should originate in the lower house? (7) Why did the Lords willingly concede this point? (8) On what grounds ought the county franchise to be restricted to freeholders? (9) Was it well or ill for the English nation to give up urging claims to the throne of France? (10) Compare the terms of the treaty of Troyes with those of the treaty of Wallingford. (11) Review in detail the territorial relations of England and France from the personal union of England and Normandy in 1066. (12) Compare the

French territory held by King Henry II. with that held by King Henry V. after the treaty of Troyes.

- (13) Shakespeare's portrait of Henry V. as Prince of Wales.
- (14) Drayton's ballad of *Agincourt*.
- (15) Jeanne d'Arc and her inspired mission.
- (16) The present restrictions on the county franchise in England.
- (17) Construct a map of all the regions on the Continent occupied by the English in the Hundred Years' War.
- (18) Methods of fighting during the French wars.
- (19) The trial of Jeanne d'Arc.
- (20) The wealth of Flanders.

Search topics

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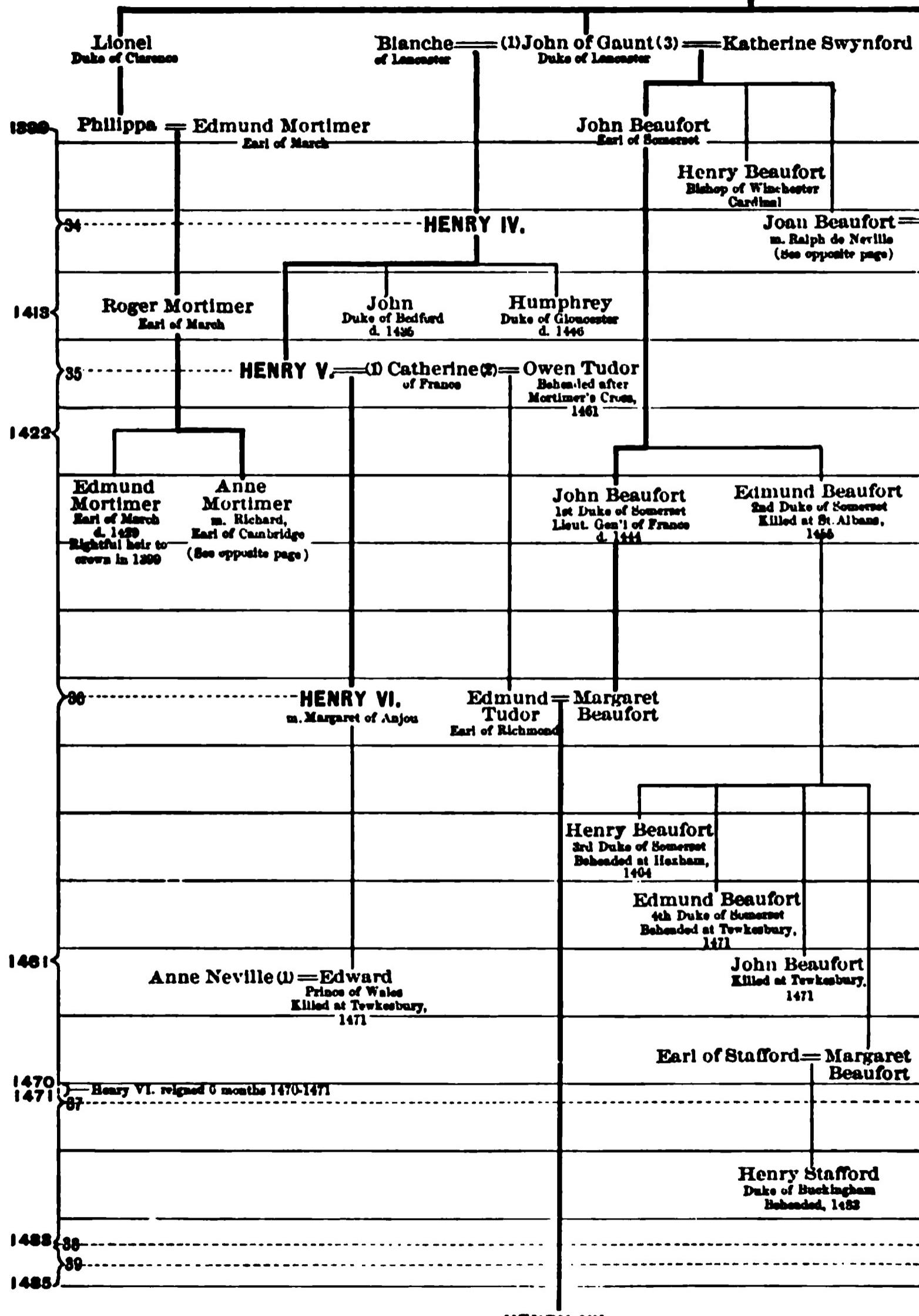
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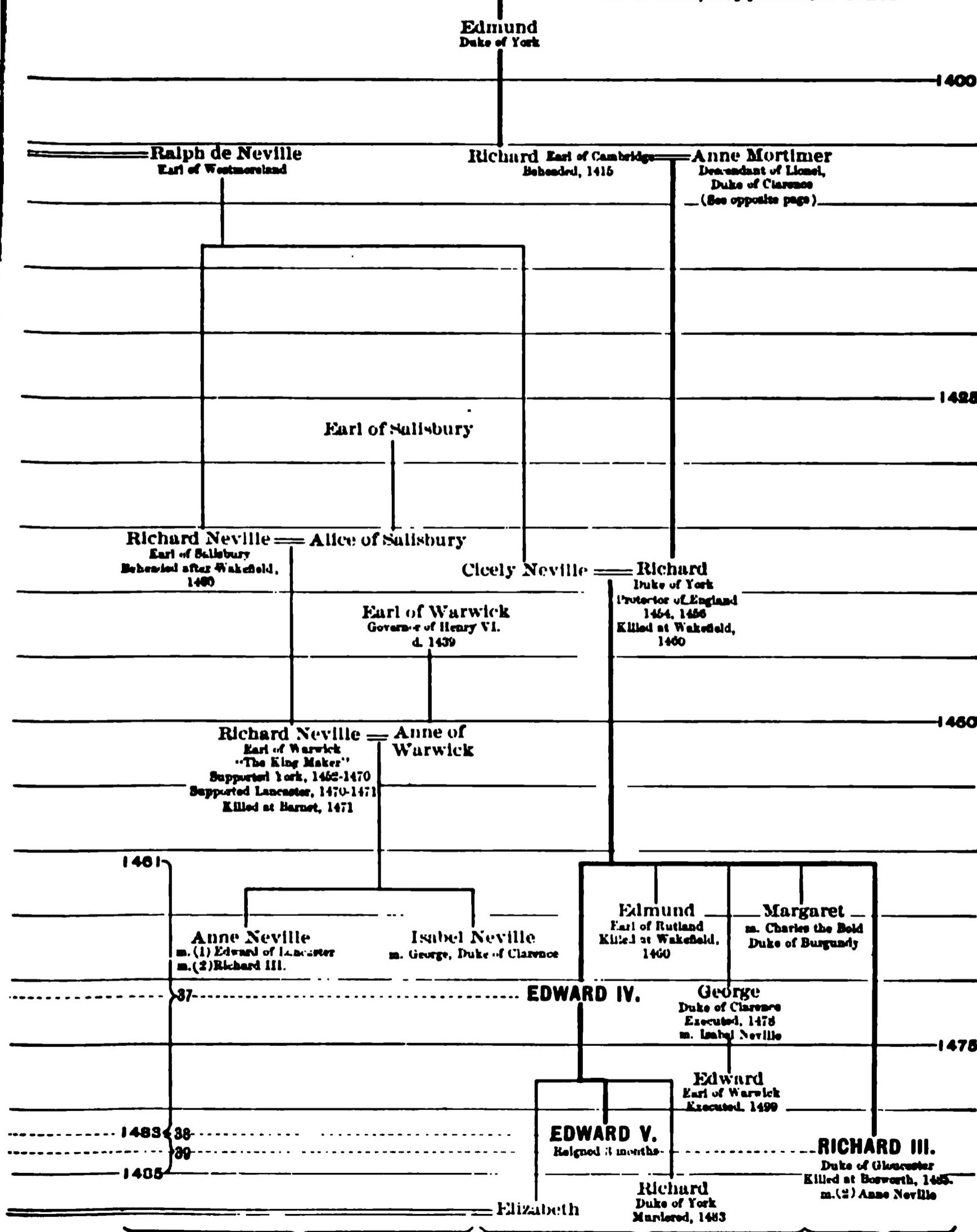
Illustrative works

EDWARD III. (p. 127)



LANCASTER AND YORK

Time scale, 16½ years to one inch



CHAPTER XVI

DYNASTIC WARS OF YORK AND LANCASTER (1447-1485)

AFTER the death of the Duke of Gloucester and of Cardinal **240.** **Rival-** Beaufort in 1447, the factional strife in England became **ry of York** **and Suffolk** very bitter. Henry VI. was weak, timid, and inefficient.

Richard, Duke of York, who succeeded Gloucester as heir presumptive to the throne, believed that his position and abilities entitled him to a principal share in the king's counsels; but

Henry chose to be guided by his personal friend, the Earl of Suffolk. Suffolk's inglorious truces and losses of territory in France during the last years of the French war created great discontent among the masses, and turned their hearts toward his brilliant rival, whom he had sent into comparative obscurity as Lieutenant of Ireland.

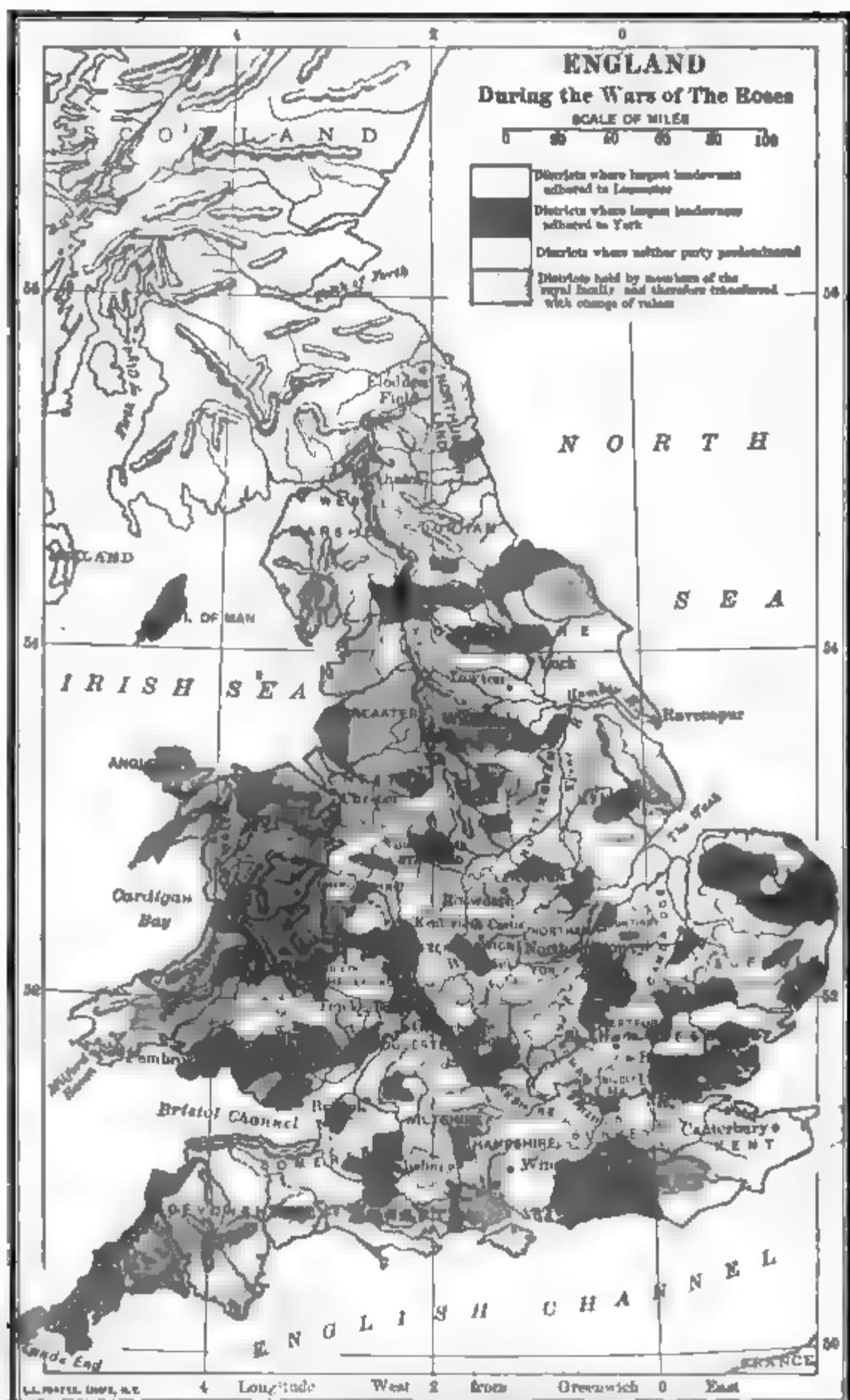


CARDINAL BEAUFORT'S TOMB, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Suffolk was powerless to preserve order at home, where agrarian troubles were daily increasing. Farming had become less profitable than sheep raising (§ 231); and the grasping lords of the manor insisted on inclosing for their private use the common grazing lands on which by immemorial custom all the tenants had hitherto passed their stock. The greater barons maintained hordes of armed retainers — generally soldiers trained to brigandage in the French wars — and renewed the lawlessness of Stephen's reign, robbing their weaker neighbors of goods, cattle, and even whole manors. Within the century, a dozen statutes were passed to abate the evils of "livery and maintenance," that is, the keeping up of bands of liveried ruffians who terrorized alike the parliamentary electors and the judges and juries of the law courts; but under such a minister as Suffolk the laws were powerless. For a time he gained supporters by making generous grants to court favorites from the crown estates, but in 1450 he was impeached, banished, and murdered on his way to France.

Since Suffolk's friends remained in power, riots immediately broke out in Middlesex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent. An Irish adventurer named Jack Cade moved on London with thirty thousand men; published a manifesto charging upon the king's ministers excessive taxation, exclusion of the lords of royal blood from a share in the government, promotion of upstarts, abuse of "purveyance," or right to seize goods for the royal household, false claims to land, treasonable loss of France, extortion, and undue interference with elections, from all of which the country was suffering; and demanded the restoration of the Duke of York to power. The rebels were tricked into dispersing, and Cade was killed, but the popular demand for reform could not be stilled.

Edmund, Duke of Somerset, nephew of Cardinal Beaufort, succeeded Suffolk as the rival of Richard of York. He had



the support of the queen, Margaret of Anjou, who believed that York was plotting to secure the succession to the throne.

A son, Edward, was born to her in 1453; but a few weeks earlier Henry had been seized with an illness which resulted in temporary idiocy, and Parliament, ignoring Margaret's wishes, appointed the Duke of York Protector (1450-1455) and Defender of the Realm. On the king's recovery, a few weeks later, he restored the Beaufort faction to power; and York, claiming that his legal rights and even his personal safety were endangered, rallied his followers at Leicester and marched toward London. He was met by the royal army at St. Albans, and in the battle that followed (May 1455) Edmund of Somerset was slain, the king was taken prisoner, and York became head of the King's Council.

The battle of St. Albans marks the beginning of the Wars of the Roses, so called from the badges used by the contestants — a white rose for York and a red rose for Somerset. At first the issue was simply whether Richard, Duke of York (who might at any time become heir to the throne), or Henry, the new Duke of Somerset (who belonged to a younger branch of the Lancastrian family), should control the principal offices of state under the king. York claimed that he should be placed in a position to guard his prospective rights; Margaret and Somerset claimed that this would expose the reigning family to intrigue. The issue was complicated because the king was incompetent to choose wise advisers, because York was the ablest and most popular statesman in the kingdom, and because his claim to the throne was by the strict laws of hereditary succession better than the king's — all of which made the suspicions of the queen the more reasonable.

In less than a year after St. Albans, Margaret induced her husband to dismiss York from office, and for the next three years the two parties maintained an armed neutrality, each warily guarding against a sudden attack. At (1455-1460)

252. Ri-
valry of
York and
Somerset

253. First
issue in the
Wars of the
Roses

254. First
stage of the
war

length Queen Margaret, chafing under the uncertainties of the situation, attacked the Yorkist lords by bringing a bill of

attainder against them in Parliament, and their lives and estates were declared forfeited. York, his brother-in-law the Earl of Salisbury, and his nephew the Earl of Warwick, who were all at Calais, promptly set sail for London, and, gaining the support of its citizens, advanced to



SHIP, TIME OF EDWARD IV.

From a MS. *Life of Richard, Earl of Warwick*.

Northampton with 60,000 men. There the Lancastrians were routed in July, 1460; King Henry was again taken prisoner, and Margaret fled to Scotland, with her son.

The issue was now changed; for as soon as Parliament could be assembled, a messenger from the Duke of York laid before

255. Death of Richard of York (1460) the House of Lords his formal claim to the crown, as the nearest heir of Edward III. The Lords replied that

the acts of Parliament by which the succession had been settled upon the Lancastrians were of such "authority as to defeat any manner of title made to any person," and that they were bound by repeated oaths of allegiance to Henry VI. However, they proposed as a compromise that Henry should "keep the crown and his estate and dignity royal during his life, and the said duke and his heirs to succeed him in the same," the duke meanwhile to be made Protector, Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester.

To this the king, "inspired with the grace of the Holy Ghost, by good and sad deliberation and advice," gave his assent; but Margaret, desperately fighting for her son's inheritance, succeeded in rallying the north of England to his cause.

The protector, advancing northward to crush out the disaffection, met the Lancastrian forces at Wakefield, December 29, 1460, and was totally defeated and slain. His younger son Edmund and the Earl of Salisbury were murdered, and their bodies were mutilated by Margaret's commanders. Thenceforth the struggle became a mere blood feud.

Edward, the eldest son of the protector, was at this time in Wales, where he soon defeated the forces raised to support Margaret's cause. He then marched to London, while 256. Accession of Warwick engaged the attention of Margaret's forces in the second battle of St. Albans. He was enthusiastically received by the citizens of the metropolis, and was immediately proclaimed king, as Edward IV.; but his crown was yet to be won, and he moved north to attack Margaret, gathering recruits as he marched.

The decisive contest, which took place at Towton, March 29, 1461, was waged for hours in the midst of a fierce snowstorm. The Yorkists, by furious assaults, forced the higher position occupied by the Lancastrians, and after ten hours of fighting drove their entire army of 60,000 men into rout. The bodies of 37,000 killed were buried on the battlefield; five peers were slain in the battle, and two earls were captured and beheaded. Except the queen and her son, who fled to Scotland, the Duke of Somerset was the only Lancastrian of importance to escape.

Throughout the contest thus far the principal supporter of the Yorkist cause had been Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick; and he naturally expected to shape the policy of the new 257. Lancastrian reaction king, who was only twenty years old. In 1464, however, Edward, without consulting his council, made a hasty (1464-1470) marriage with a widow, Lady Elizabeth (Woodville) Grey, whose family became his chief advisers and the recipients of all his favors. This resulted in a jealousy between the Woodvilles and the Nevilles similar to that between the

Somersets and the Yorkists in the first stage of the wars. Still further discord arose out of Edward's foreign policy. To please London and the commons generally, the king was determined to wed his sister to the ruler of Burgundy, the state with which England had the most commerce; Warwick, as the representative of ancient aristocratic traditions, preferred to seek for her a French alliance.

Unable to dominate the king whom he had crowned, Warwick married his elder daughter to Edward's brother Clarence,



WARWICK CASTLE.

Destroyed in the Barons' wars. Rebuilt by Edward III. and his successors.

and then induced him to intrigue for the throne; secretly promoted insurrections in Yorkshire; and finally, when exposed and compelled to flee to France, cast in his lot with Margaret of Anjou, and married his younger daughter to her son, Edward of Lancaster. Under cover of the Yorkshire uprisings, the allies made a descent upon the Devonshire coast. The midlands, as before, adhered to Warwick; Edward, unable to brave the storm, fled to the protection of the Duke of Bur-

gundy; and in September, 1470, Warwick replaced on the throne Henry VI., the king whom he had twice been instrumental in deposing.

In less than a year, Edward of York, assisted by the Duke of Burgundy, appeared on the coast of England with a small army, proclaiming that he came merely to recover his ancestral domains. The negligence, folly, or treachery of Warwick's brother, Lord Montagu, permitted him to advance as far as Leicester. There, throwing off all disguise, he proclaimed himself rightful king of England. Adherents flocked to his standard, but Warwick's forces far outnumbered his when they met at Barnet (April 4, 1471). Edward won the victory, nevertheless, for a fog created confusion in the Lancastrian ranks, Clarence played traitor to Warwick and went over to his brother with all his forces, and the great "King-maker" (as Warwick was called) was slain in the crisis of the battle. Margaret, arriving from France too late, was intercepted and defeated by Edward at Tewkesbury (May, 1471).

The death of Queen Margaret's son, Prince Edward, in this battle ended the direct Lancastrian line. The last Beaufort chief, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, was captured and executed, and Queen Margaret herself was taken prisoner. On the day of Edward's return to London the unfortunate King Henry VI. died in the Tower, probably murdered to prevent further uprisings in his favor. The claims of the Lancastrian line now passed to Henry Tudor, the fourteen-year-old son of Margaret Beaufort, great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt. Mother and son fled to Brittany, and for twelve years Edward IV. reigned undisputed monarch.

During this period, sloth took the place of Edward's former energy of character, and his security made him indifferent to the needs or the wishes of the nation. The wealth gained by confiscating the property of Lancastrians made extraordinary taxation unnecessary, and France

258. Final
victory of
York (1471)

259. Close
of Edward
IV.'s reign
(1471-1483)

paid him enormous subsidies in money to leave the Continent alone. These subsidies were construed by the king of France to be a purchase of Edward's neutrality in the struggle between France and Burgundy, and by the English to be tribute, and a recognition of England's real right to the sovereignty of France. With these resources, increased by the "benevolences" (gifts) which he from time to time exacted from his wealthiest subjects, the king was able to rule without calling a Parliament for twelve years, and he thus prepared the way for a period of absolute government. Near the end of his reign Edward suffered from ill health, and the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of his brother, Richard of Gloucester, and his adherent, Lord Hastings, until the king's death in 1483.

Richard of Gloucester was an able soldier and a capable administrator, but very ambitious, and unscrupulous in the

260. Reign of Edward V. (April 9-June 25, 1483) execution of his designs. Unlike the other leaders of the period, he was self-controlled, cautious, and deliberate in the pursuit of his aims. Among Edward's children were his eldest daughter Elizabeth, seventeen years old; a son Edward, of twelve years; and a younger son, Richard, of nine years. The Woodvilles hurriedly conducted Prince Edward from Wales towards London; but they were met by an armed force under the Duke of Gloucester, the Prince was seized and imprisoned, and the council, under the influence of Richard's co-plotter, Lord Hastings, declared Gloucester Protector of the Realm.

Richard immediately entered upon a series of crafty intrigues to gain absolute power. Two of the Woodville peers were executed, and Hastings, who had made secret overtures to their party, was killed by Richard's orders. Richard invented a preposterous story to show that Edward IV.'s marriage to Elizabeth Woodville was illegal, and that therefore he himself was the legal heir to the throne. The nobles present in London

dared not resist his demand, and Richard, accepting their "petition" that he should take the throne, was crowned on July 6, 1483, as Richard III.

Richard's bloody course thus far was condoned by his countrymen as being perhaps necessary to his own continuance in power; but the hearts of all right-minded Englishmen were alienated when, soon after his coronation, it began to be whispered that he had caused the murder of his nephews, who were confined in the Tower. This iniquity brought on him a two years' struggle to retain the throne. Within three months he had to face a conspiracy which was supported by the Duke of Buckingham and the Woodvilles, to place Henry Tudor (§ 258) upon the throne; but his promptness thwarted this movement. He now tried to buy the favor of his subjects by good government, but he was too unpopular. In desperation he resorted to arbitrary taxation in order to raise money with which to bribe the leaders among the nobility — for none served him save for profit. After the death of his first wife (1484), he even thought of marrying his own niece, Elizabeth, in order to remove a possible rival; but meanwhile Henry Tudor (who also planned to marry Elizabeth, in order to combine the claims of Lancaster and of York) prepared for another attempt to overthrow Richard.

With the aid of many barons of France, Henry raised a small force of mercenaries, and, accompanied by the remaining leaders of the Lancastrian and Woodville factions, landed at Milford Haven, June, 1485, rallied to his cause the ever faithful Welsh, and in August met Rich-

261 Reign
of Richard
III. (1483-
1485)



KING RICHARD III IN PLATE ARMOR AND SURCOAT.

Standing on his heraldic device, a wild boar.

262. The Tudor revo-
lution

ard in the closing battle of the Wars of the Roses on Bosworth Field. His cause appeared hopeless indeed, as he marshaled his 5000 men against Richard's army of 14,000. His hope lay in the detestation in which all men held the king—a detestation so great that many of Richard's forces refused to fight at all, and one large body under Lord Stanley deserted to Henry's side. Richard himself fought with desperation, but was cut down while striving to force his way into the presence of his rival; and his crown, which he had worn into the battle, was placed by Stanley on the head of Henry Tudor.

The continuous warfare of the fifteenth century had exerted a bad influence upon English life and character. It was a time

263. Social conditions (1400-1485) of low ideals and brutal conduct. The church, after the failure of the Lollard movement, became even more worldly and unspiritual than before. It produced great thinkers (the Schoolmen) and great politicians, but not great moral teachers or pastors. It therefore punished false dogma more severely than vicious conduct. Under Henry IV. and Henry V. the Lollard movement was practically crushed out by imprisonments and burnings at the stake, then first authorized by statute. A ruthless clergy meant ruthless statesmen—but these often lacked the decency even to veil their crimes under the forms of law. Richard II. caused his uncle to be murdered; Henry IV. killed his cousin; Henry V. sent his father's cousin to the block; Henry VI. condoned the slaughter of many of his nearest relatives; Edward IV. sacrificed his own brother Clarence; Richard III., by tradition the arch-villain among English monarchs, merely acted in harmony with the times when he thrust from his path in swift succession Hastings, Rivers and Grey (the two Woodville leaders), his two nephews, and the Duke of Buckingham. In a time of protracted war, human life becomes cheapened.

In spite of the turbulent conditions, the century saw a steady advance in commerce and manufactures. Since the fighting was done by retainers of the noble houses, ^{204.} Economic changes carried on their ordinary work. Indeed, the demand for (1453-1485) military weapons, clothing, and supplies stimulated some industries; and since general political control rather than territorial conquest or spoils was the stake, the larger towns and cities rarely suffered from siege or pillage.

It was in this period that energetic English merchants broke into the monopoly of trade on the Continent hitherto enjoyed by the Hanseatic League as middlemen, and for the first time established direct trade relations with Flanders, the Scandinavian kingdoms, and Prussia. Fortune helped those who thus helped themselves. Vast schools of herring — a fish never seen in the North Sea during the fourteenth century — now appeared in the waters about the mouth of the Rhine, and the herring fishery became one of the most important of English industries, furnishing employment for vast numbers of ships, fishermen, salters and packers, coopers, and traders. The hardy seamanship developed by her fishermen was no small factor in England's progress during the Tudor period.

Of all the imports brought over seas by English merchants during this period, by far the most notable was the printing press brought from Flanders by William Caxton in 1476.



WORKMEN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

From a MS. *History of Noble Men and Women.*

Caxton had been in business in Bruges for thirty years, part of the time as governor of the English guild of merchant

265. Caxton: introduction of printing adventurers, and later as a copyist in the household of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV.

Becoming interested in the newly invented art of multiplying books by printing, he published a few books at Bruges, and then returned to England and set up his press in a shop adjoining Westminster Abbey. In the next fifteen years he published nearly a hundred volumes, including religious books, poems, tales of chivalry, and translations from classic authors. It was Caxton who preserved for us the text of Chaucer's works, and also Malory's *Noble and Joyous History of King Arthur*, which has influenced so much of our later literature and art. By the end of the fifteenth century there were printing presses at Oxford, St. Albans, and London—and the gates of the realm of letters were thrown open to the English people.

By the long series of struggles extending from the reign of John through the Wars of the Roses, the warring factions

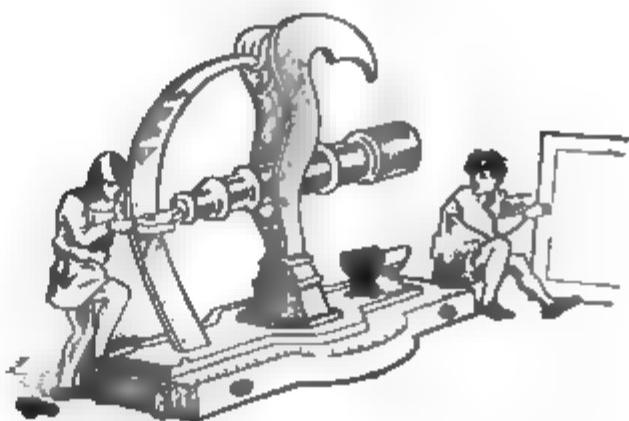
266. Summary of the English nobility destroyed their own power to dominate the sovereign and the other classes of the people;

but it is not true, as is often stated, that the House of Lords was reduced in size. Though the heads of many noble houses perished in battle, or on the block, or by secret murder, their estates and titles descended to collateral heirs or were transferred to other holders, so that only one peerage was actually extinguished as a result of the long struggle. Neither is it true that the cost of these wars was crushing to the people; for after every fresh contest the possessions of the conquered served to enrich the victors. While the front of the stage was held by bodies of professional fighters, in the background (especially in the towns) the mass of the people continued to pursue the arts of peace, to develop industry and commerce

Nevertheless, long before the battle of Bosworth, England had become weary of the dispute over the throne, weary of bloody battlefields and bloodier reprisals, weary of the degenerate feudalism that made such contests possible. When peace finally came, it found the English people ready to submit to any sovereign who would rule with some regard for their interests, without questioning too closely either the source or the limits of his power. The Wars of the Roses were at last ended, and with them passed away feudalism as a dominant force in English politics, and the old type of warfare, of which Richard's last charge was a brilliant example. With the reign of the Tudors begins the modern history of England.

TOPICS

- (1) With the aid of the genealogical table on p. 228, show exactly why the Beauforts and the Tudors adhered to Henry VI. (2) Estimate the kind of strength which each of these chieftains could bring to his cause. (3) Which party had the advantage in the location of its territory? (4) How far were York's claims justifiable? (5) Show how Warwick acquired the title of "the King-maker." (6) Compare Edward's invasion in 1471 with that of Henry of Lancaster in 1399. (7) Do you blame Margaret of Anjou for her course? (8) Why did the commercial classes favor the Burgundian alliance? (9) Why was it that hardly a hundred men on each side fell at Bosworth Field? (10) Why were fisheries very important during the Middle Ages?
- (11) Jack Cade's Rebellion. (12) Shakespeare's estimate of Cade's motives and ability in *Henry VI., Part II.* (13) Career of Charles the Bold, of Burgundy. (14) The Princes in the Tower. (15) Shakespeare's treatment of the battle of Bosworth in



SIEGE GUN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

From a MS. *Chronique d'Angleterre*, time of Edward IV.

- Richard III.* (16) Could an act of Parliament make a king?
 (17) Why were France and Burgundy hostile to each other?
 (18) An estimate of Richard III.

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CHAPTER XVII.

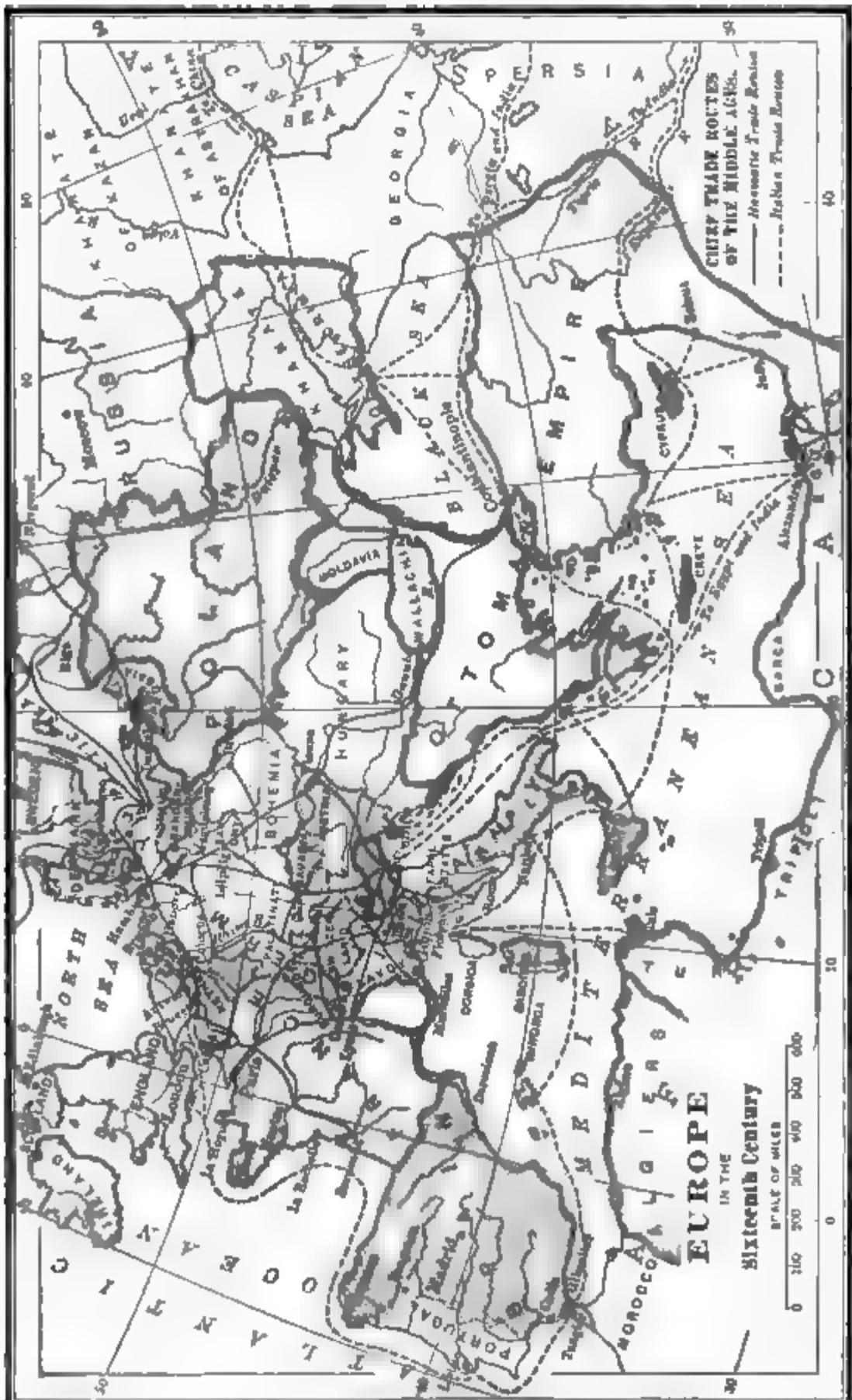
RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION UNDER THE EARLY TUDORS (1485-1547)

FOR many generations forces had been at work which were to transform the mediæval into the modern world. During the fifteenth century, improvements in the mariner's compass and the astrolabe made navigation a more exact art, and prepared the way for the occupation of remote lands by the more vigorous of the old world powers. The use of gunpowder in war made almost worthless the strength and dexterity on which the feudal warriors relied, and transferred the burden of war from the ordinary citizens to a class of professional fighters. Commerce was creating the wealth which made possible a leisure class, free to cultivate their intellectual and æsthetic tastes. Schisms among the rulers of the church, and errors of judgment and moral shortcomings among her servants, roused independent thought about religious and scientific teachings previously accepted without question as matters of revelation. Finally, the discovery of the art of printing made possible that general diffusion of knowledge which, more than anything else, marks the difference between modern and mediæval life.

267. Transition to modern history

The three states strong enough to take the lead under the new conditions were France, Spain, and England. Germany, composed of many units loosely federated under the Holy Roman Empire, and severed by the Alps from Italy (the center of mediæval life), had lagged behind these states in her development. France, after two centuries of arrested development, began to make rapid progress under a strong

268. The "great powers" in 1485



ruler, Louis XI. (from 1461 to 1483), who quelled civil strife and strengthened the power of the monarch. Spain, formerly divided into two rival kingdoms, was just waking into national life and unity under the guidance of Ferdinand of Aragon, and was ready to assume her place as a world power whenever the current of European trade should set westward instead of eastward. England, with her intelligent population, her strong practical constitution, and her insular position, enjoyed the advantages of both her rivals. In all three states, the monarchs were enjoying more absolute authority than any mediæval king could boast, because they did not have to rely on arrogant and self-willed barons in carrying out their purposes. Hence they were tempted into petty wars of conquest, which are characteristic of the early sixteenth century.

The history of all these states was profoundly affected by the great religious revolution known as the Reformation, which finally wrenched the majority of the Teutonic peoples of northern Europe away from the Roman communion. Its beginnings can be traced back into the fourteenth century,—to such religious movements as those of Wyclif (1324–1384) in England, Huss (1369–1415) in Bohemia, and Savonarola (1452–1498) in Italy; and also to the movement in art and letters known as the Renaissance (1300–1500).

Up to the middle of the fourteenth century the pursuit of war and the satisfaction of physical needs absorbed all the energies of the less intellectual classes; while the more thoughtful few, impelled by the conviction that the flesh and the spirit wage eternal war, devoted themselves wholly to the salvation of their sin-stained souls. But with the progress of civilization, many people came to believe that God made the world to promote, and not to hinder, man's highest development, and that to study its laws and to enjoy its pleasures were both permissible and profitable. Italy first exhibited the new impulse, by reviving the study of the ancient

269. Causes
of the Ref-
ormation

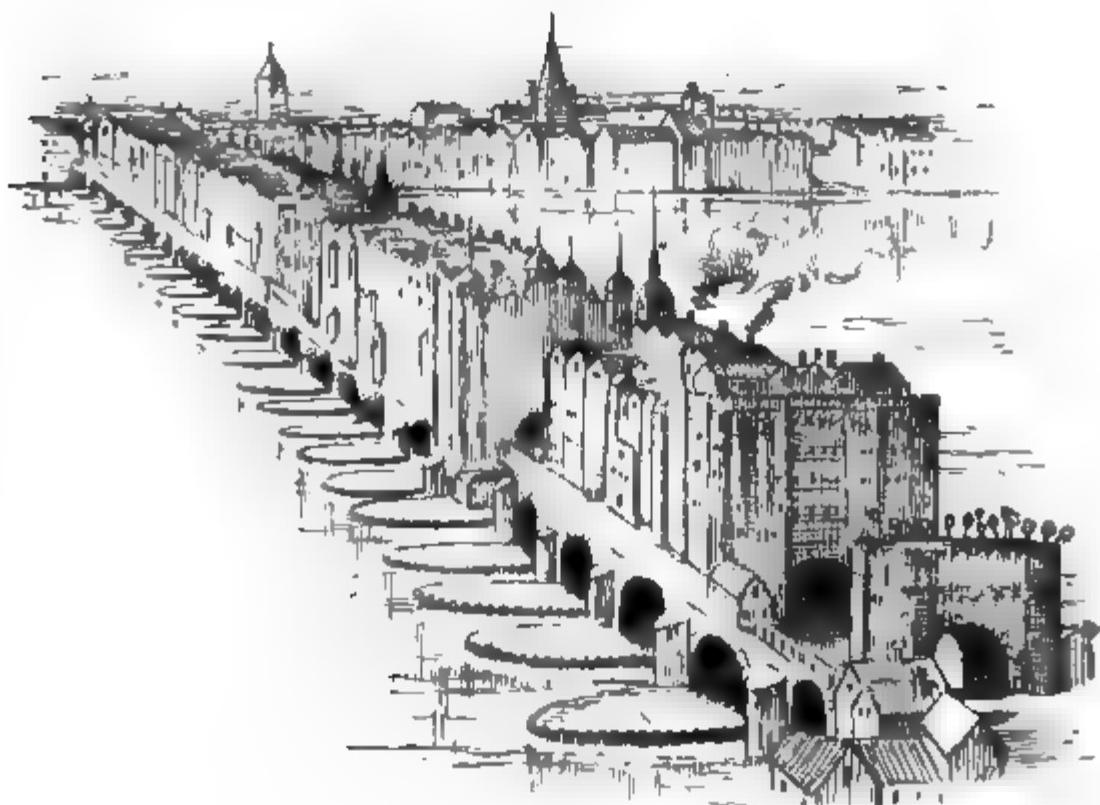
270. The
Renais-
sance

literatures, by cultivating the forgotten art of sculpture and the newer art of painting, by developing a joyous civic life, and by fostering the beginning of scientific investigation. Its liberalizing effect is seen in the outspoken criticism of the church of his day by Dante (1265–1321); in Petrarch's return to the "profane" writings of Homer and Virgil (1304–1374); in the patronage of arts, letters, and science by the Florentine family of the Medici (1389–1492). The classical authors were imitated in the native tongue; the remains of ancient temples were studied, and a new style of architecture (the Italian Renaissance) was created by the skillful combination of Greek and Roman forms; the ancient art of sculpture was revived; and the new art of painting from life, with due attention to perspective, was brought to great perfection in an astonishingly short time. The names of Giotto, Raphael, and Michael Angelo are sufficient to suggest the greatness of the Renaissance impulse in Italy. From that country it spread during the sixteenth century into France, Spain, Germany, and England, where it followed close upon the restoration of order under the Tudors.

Had not the Renaissance promoted the study of the dead languages, and thus led individuals to interpret the Scriptures

271. The Renaissance and the church by the light of their own reason, the Reformation might perhaps have stopped short of revolution; yet some violent wrench was needed to rid the church of her mediæval notions. She still clung to the idea that government by absolute monarchs was divinely ordained, and that Popes had authority over all monarchs. Moreover, the Popes themselves, by their activity as territorial sovereigns in Italy, seemed likely to forfeit the influence which belonged to them as spiritual "vicars of God." In England, where the national temper was one of independence in thought and action, where the Pope's orders had been repeatedly set at defiance, where the financial demands of Rome roused the most angry resist-

ance, the people were already accustomed to distinguish between Roman Catholicism as a system of belief, and the Roman Papacy as a system of church government. Therefore, when monarchs as independent-minded as the Tudors came to the throne, the breach with Rome might easily have been predicted in advance.



LONDON BRIDGE (FROM THE SOUTHWARK END), SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
Traitors' heads exposed on spikes over the entrance.

The policy of Henry VII., the first of the Tudor line, was determined by the conditions under which he ascended the throne. To strengthen the rights of his descendants to the crown, he wedded Elizabeth of York. To secure himself from external attack, he married his daughter Margaret to the king of Scotland, James IV., and his eldest son Arthur to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon. To make himself independent of Parliament, he sought by every possible means to increase his private fortune. To make his government popular and add to its stability, he encouraged

of Henry
VII. (1485-
1509)

maritime enterprise by charters to mercantile companies and to explorers, and by commercial treaties with Burgundy, Denmark, Venice, Florence, Spain, and other states.

From the first, Henry ruled with a strong hand. Half a dozen Yorkist conspiracies were easily suppressed, one after another, without excessive bloodshed. In one of these 273. Sup-
pression of rebellion an impostor named Lambert Simnel, pretending to be the Earl of Warwick (see table, p. 229), was aided by Burgundy; in another, a similar impostor named Perkin Warbeck, claiming to be Richard of York, was supported by an army from Ireland; but neither the English barons, nor the turbulent Irish clans, nor the Scottish raiders, nor the insurgent Cornishmen, who at various times tested Henry's strength, were able to make head against him.

Henry first attacked the power of the barons by forcing 274. In-
crease of the royal authority the powerful nobles to take oath not to maintain bands of liveried retainers, and, what is more, compelling them to keep their oaths. The Earl of Oxford, who had aided him at Bosworth Field, presumed upon his position to make a display of retainers on the occasion of a visit from Henry. "By my faith, my Lord," said Henry, "I thank you for your good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you;" and Oxford paid a fine of £10,000 for his pride. In order to reach offenders too powerful to dread the local courts, he created a special court (consisting of the chancellor, the treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, and other members of the royal council, together with the two chief justices) which met in the "Star Chamber," at Westminster, and arbitrarily punished "murders, robberies, perjuries, and unsueties of all men living, in as full measure as if the offenders had been convict after the due order of the law."

His financial agents, Empson and Dudley, successfully enforced claims for feudal dues long since grown obsolete, and,

tempted by the submissiveness of the nation, they used most unjust means to enrich the king. From skillfully managed crown demesnes, from judicial fines, from "benevolences" (§ 259), from subsidies for his neutrality in continental wars, from customs duties, Henry amassed a personal fortune not far from £2,000,000. "The king of England," said a German diplomat at Brussels, "is described as the richest lord that is now known in the world."

Henry VII. was especially strong in his selection of advisers, and with his reign begins a series of statesmen drawn from the ranks of the commons, and chosen for their ability and their subserviency to the crown. With their aid he was able to promote widespread prosperity. Through his encouragement of commerce, the customs revenues increased nearly one third during his reign. By a navigation act which stipulated that certain goods should be imported only in the ships of his subjects, he largely increased England's shipping. He finally took away from the foreign "Merchants of the Staple," or syndicate of wool buyers, their monopoly of trade in raw materials, and thus helped the English Merchant Adventurers (chartered in 1507) to compete successfully with their Hanseatic and Venetian rivals. Although he would not help Columbus to explore the western ocean, he was soon led by the successes of Spain to seek an independent route to India for his merchants. In 1497 he aided and encouraged John Cabot,

275. Stim-
ulation of
commerce



ARMS OF THE GUILD OF MERCHANT TAILORS, 1480.

Lamb, symbolizing wool fleeces; pavilions and robes, symbolizing woolen cloth.

the discoverer of the North American continent, to make the voyage on which was later based the English claims to the American continent north of Florida; and thus, unwittingly, he gave to his descendants a far more important possession than India itself. The importance of Henry VII.'s work has been overshadowed by the more spectacular reign of his son, but it should not be forgotten that he found the English monarchy helpless and the English nation disorganized, and that at his death in 1509 he transmitted to his surviving son Henry a strong, well-organized, and orderly government.

Henry VIII. began his reign at eighteen years of age, with every favoring condition. He was handsome, very strong, skillful in the sports which his subjects loved, intelligent, shrewd enough to use all his personal attractions to gain his own way in everything, while outwardly conforming to the constitution. He inherited his father's absolutism, but not his parsimony. He "threw away with both



COIN OF HENRY VIII., SHOWING HIS PORTRAIT.

hands" the treasure which Henry VII. had hoarded up, and millions more which fate later placed within his grasp. He loved to dazzle his subjects and his rivals by personal display, and he loved to play a leading part in the Continental wars of the period. In satisfying his desires he overbore all opposition, whether of councilors, Parliament, or foreign princes; and when the

temper of the nation grew threatening under his exactions, he forced his minister to assume the blame.

The first of his scapegoats, and the last and greatest of the long series of English ecclesiastic statesmen, was Thomas of Cardinal Wolsey. Born the son of a well-to-do wool merchant, (1471-1530) Wolsey was graduated from Oxford University when

fifteen years old, and a few years later was made chaplain, first of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and later of Henry VII. When forty years old, he became a member of the royal council of the young king, Henry VIII., and his abilities and his attractive personality soon won him high favor. In 1514 he was made Archbishop of York, and in 1515 Lord Chancellor of England, and a little later a cardinal of the Roman Church. Two years later he was appointed papal legate to England, which gave him precedence even over the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Wolsey had an ardent ambition to become Pope, but a Venetian diplomat declared that he was already seven times more powerful than the Pope. His astonishing advancement roused the worst side of his character; his splendor of dress and of living was extreme; his arrogance and domineering bearing toward his subordinates won him universal dislike; and the ruthless taxation of the commons to make possible his bold foreign policy, made his name detested throughout England.

Wolsey's policy aimed to hold the balance between Spain and France by aiding one or the other party in war and by diplomatic intrigue, so as to make his master the arbiter ^{278. Henry} of European politics. This policy did not necessarily require costly wars; but to satisfy Henry's vanity Wolsey had to organize armies for expensive and fruitless invasions of France in 1512 and 1513, and as usual the French war led to a war with Scotland, in which Henry's brother-in-law, King James IV., was slain at the battle of Flodden Field. ^{VIII.'s foreign wars (1512-1525)}

A decade later, when the Emperor Charles V. and the French king Francis I. were at swords' points, Henry demanded that Wolsey raise money for fresh invasions of France. Although himself opposed to the war, Wolsey secured grants from Parliament, and benevolences from rich citizens. Then a victory of Charles over Francis at Pavia, in 1525, so shook the "balance of power" which Henry wished to maintain, that

he deemed it wise to make an alliance with France instead of attacking her.

Soon Henry's imperious selfishness involved Wolsey in still more serious trouble. Henry's older brother, Prince Arthur, ^{279.} ~~and the king's marriage~~ died in 1502 leaving his wife Catherine, Princess of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (\S 272). Henry VII., for political reasons, determined that

Henry, the next heir, should marry his brother's widow; and, as such a marriage was contrary to the laws of the church, a dispensation was obtained from Pope Julius II. For thirteen years Henry and Catherine remained happily united, during which time several children were born to them; but Princess Mary, later queen, was the only one that lived. Then, in 1522, a certain Anne Boleyn, fresh from residence in France, became maid of honor to the queen; and Henry at once began to load her family with honors and favors. Four years later he confided to his ministers that he had grave doubts regarding the validity of his marriage, arguing that the death of his children in infancy showed that God disapproved of the marriage. He therefore proposed that the Pope should declare it invalid.

Wolsey at first approved this suggestion, for he thought that he might gain prestige by negotiating a second marriage with some foreign princess; but when he found that Henry was determined to wed Anne Boleyn, he stoutly opposed the project. Still later he yielded to the king's urgings, and exerted himself to secure a favorable decision from Pope Clement VII. Clement, however, was anxious not to anger Catherine's Spanish and German relatives; so he procrastinated until Henry, thinking that Wolsey was the cause of the delay, poured out the vials of his wrath upon his too subservient minister. Wolsey was prosecuted on the ridiculous ground that he had violated the Statute of Præmunire (Appendix I) in acting as the Pope's legate, although he had done this with Henry's consent; he was condemned to forfeit all his property,

resign his chancellorship, and retire to his see at York. A subsequent charge of treason hastened the death of the heart-broken minister in 1530.

Wolsey's successor was his own secretary, Thomas Cromwell, who proposed to remove the whole matter of the annulment of Henry's marriage from the jurisdiction of the Pope by abolishing his authority over the English Church. He first made an attack on the immunities and the vast revenues of the clergy, terrifying them by the sweeping charge that in recognizing Wolsey's authority as legate they had become involved in his guilt. They offered to pay a fine of £10,000, but Henry refused to accept it, unless they would admit that the king was "the Supreme Head of the English Church," and agree not to assemble in Convocation nor to legislate in religious matters without his authority. This they did in 1531. Next, Cromwell procured the passage of the Act of Annates (1532), authorizing, but not compelling, the king to seize certain revenues hitherto paid to the Pope.

As Clement refused to be hurried into a decision, Henry determined to sue for annulment of his marriage in the English ecclesiastical courts; and he smoothed the path to success by appointing as primate a subservient priest, Thomas Cranmer, of whose decision he was so certain that he secretly married Anne Boleyn before the trial of the case. Four months later (May, 1533) Cranmer announced the decision of the court that Henry's first marriage had been null and void from the beginning.

To the Pope's remonstrances against this interference with his authority, Cranmer responded by a momentous declaration, made to the King's Council, that "by God's law the Pope has no more authority than any other bishop." In 1534 Parliament gave its sanction to this doctrine in the Act of Supremacy, which decreed that "the king our sovereign lord . . . shall be taken, accepted, and

280. *Cromwell and the king's supremacy*

281. *The Reformation in England*

26 *Henry VIII., c. 1*

reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England" (Appendix J).

The English Reformation was thus, in its first stage, merely a change in the government of the church. "Henry, head of *Thatcher & Schwill, General History of Europe, 331* the State, became also head of the Church, or briefly, the English Pope." A parliamentary statute provided that thenceforth bishops should be elected by the chapters of the cathedrals in the different sees, on receipt of letters from the king naming the person whom they should choose.



HENRY VIII. GIVING THE BIBLE TO CLERGY AND LAITY
Frontispiece to Coverdale's Bible, 1535, designed by Holbein.

All payments to Rome were of course abolished, and the church revenues were devoted wholly to local uses. The reorganized church claimed the same authority as the parent body to define doctrines, conduct religious services, and regulate all matters spiritual; and heresy against Catholic doctrine was punished by Henry as severely as by any other monarch.

Nevertheless, Henry prepared the way for a far greater change when he put the Bible into the hands of the laity. By his direction, each cathedral exposed a copy of the Bible in English for public use, and copies were placed in every church throughout the land. Less significant, although more spectacular, was his action regarding the monasteries, many of which were causes of scandal to the communities in which they were situated, and nearly all were

Changes in
church
policy



MONASTERIES (PRIORIES, ABBEYS, AND HOSPITALS) IN AND NEAR LONDON
ABOUT 1535.

over-rich. Wolsey had attempted to lessen these abuses by suppressing all monasteries with less than seven inmates. Now Henry determined to gain popularity, wealth, and the pleasure of annoying the Pope, by suppressing the rest and seizing their property. Cromwell was placed at the head of a commission to visit and report on the condition of universities, religious houses, and all spiritual corporations; and on the strength of his report, which stated that the monasteries were hopelessly corrupt, Parliament passed acts of suppression (1536 and 1539), by which 376 monasteries were abolished. Part of their income was devoted to church uses, and all the rest went to enrich Henry and his favorites; even the buildings were granted to his courtiers, to be sold for whatever they would bring.

The first attack on the monasteries caused an uprising in the north among the ignorant peasantry, who believed that the

283. The Pilgrimage of Grace ; the Bloody Statute parish churches would be next attacked, and who banded together in a "Pilgrimage of Grace" to defend their ancient faith against innovations. The mob was deluded with lying promises, and later the leaders were seized and executed. But in 1539 an act was passed which gave assurance that many of the beliefs and practices of the Roman Church would be enforced under the new régime. This act declared in favor of (1) the doctrine of transubstantiation and certain allied doctrines; (2) the practice of clerical celibacy, of confession to priests, and of saying private masses for the dead. The penalties prescribed for attacking these doctrines and practices were so terrible — burning and hanging — that the act received the name of the "Bloody Statute."

In 1534 Parliament declared the succession to the throne to be in the children of Anne Boleyn; but in less than three years

284. The succession to the throne Anne was executed on a charge of unfaithfulness, and her daughter Elizabeth was declared illegitimate. On the day after Anne's execution, Henry married Jane Seymour, who died after bearing him a son, Edward. Before Edward's birth Parliament passed an act fixing the succession upon the children of this marriage, and empowering Henry, in default of heirs, to devise the crown by will. In 1544, the right of succession was restored to Mary and Elizabeth. The king made three subsequent marriages; but they have little historical importance.

The king was now in possession of absolute authority under the forms of parliamentary government. At his nod, Parlia-

285. Henry's absolutism ment so restricted the "benefit of clergy" that clerks and laymen were equal before the law; it sent to the block, on wholly unproven accusations, ministers, peers, and commoners alike; it altered the succession to the crown not once but several times; it sanctioned the repudiation of the king's

debts ; it even decreed that the king's proclamations, if not repugnant to established laws, or directed against the life or property of the subject, should have the same force as acts of Parliament ! The power of Parliament was still further diminished by the growing custom of determining important measures in secret meetings of some of the great officers of the state, who formed what was called the Privy Council.

The absolutism thus fostered extended to both Wales and Ireland. By a series of acts (1535 and 1542) the laws of England were extended over Wales, including the marches ; and a county organization was established with its share of representation in Parliament. Ireland had long been slipping away from English control, but under Henry VII. Sir Edward Poynings had induced the Irish Parliament (1494) to pass acts providing (1) that all English statutes should be binding upon Ireland ; (2) that all Irish acts should receive the sanction of the king and council before they should be enacted by the Irish Parliament. Nevertheless, the successive English governors were unable to suppress the factional strife of the Norman-Irish Kildares, Butlers, and Desmonds. Henry VIII., by attempting to enforce good government within the Pale (the district in which English laws prevailed), provoked a revolt which served as an excuse for the conquest of most of the island. The conquered portions were erected into earldoms and granted to chiefs on whom Henry could rely, and the English language, dress, and ecclesiastical system (royal supremacy and all) were forced upon the people—that is, so far as legislation could accomplish it.

Henry VIII.'s effective work was completed by the year 1542. In that year there broke out a fresh war with Scotland, which was cut short, however, by the death of the Scottish king, James V. Henry then tried to create a friendly bond between the two nations by proposing his

286. Henry's policy in Wales

287. End of Henry VIII.'s reign



MAN'S DRESS, TIME
OF HENRY VIII.

little son, Edward, as husband for James's daughter and successor, Mary Stuart; but the Catholic party, which was in power in Scotland, preferred the friendship of their old ally, France, and the proposal was rejected. Henry then joined a great alliance which had been formed against France, in 1543, by the Emperor and various German princes, Sweden, and Denmark. He invaded France (1544), but his allies at once concluded peace without his consent or knowledge, and he was left to make a treaty of peace in 1546 which brought him neither profit nor glory. His death during the next year left England exposed to the perils of a regency, since his only son and heir, Edward VI., was then less than ten years old.

The chief characteristic of the early Tudor reigns is the headlong rush of events toward absolutism in the government.

sec. sum- At the bidding of the sovereign, Parliament, with hardly any contest, changes the religious system of the state, gives the monarch supreme control over its administration, alters the succession, embroils itself with foreign powers, and even strips itself of power by giving to the king's proclamations the force of statute law. To the credit of the House of Commons be it said that this was accomplished in part through the king's creation of "rotten boroughs" out of small communities whose representatives were subservient to the crown. Such conditions made possible the tyranny of later monarchs and the general corruption of Parliaments up to 1832 (§§ 496-7, 564-5). This new absolutism found fitting expression in the absorption of Wales and the conquest of western Ireland, and in schemes of foreign warfare. That

liberty did not wholly perish during this period is solely due to the fact that all the Tudor monarchs, from Henry to Elizabeth, ruled (broadly speaking) in technical conformity with the "law of the land," and Parliament could resume an independent attitude at any time, when occasion arose, without necessarily bringing on a revolution.

TOPICS

- (1) What was the chief source of wealth in England during the mediæval period? What in modern times? (2) What effect did the former condition have upon the importance of the nobles? (3) Why were not the discoveries of the Cabots followed up immediately? (4) What made the Star Chamber Court certain to become an instrument of tyranny? (5) Trace the different cases in which the Pope's authority was defied in England before 1533. (6) What effect did the decision of Cranmer's court have upon the succession to the throne? (7) In just what ways was monasticism "alien to the spirit and temper of the English people"? (8) What effect did the dissolution of the monasteries have on the popularity of the Reformation? (9) Why were the Tudor monarchs especially interested in Wales? (10) Why was Henry VIII. so popular?
- (11) The story of Perkin Warbeck. (12) Henry VII.'s fiscal measures, including "Morton's Fork." (13) Wolsey in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.* (14) Henry VIII.'s title of "Defender of the Faith." (15) The voyage of the Cabots. (16) The Field of the Cloth of Gold. (17) Education of the Princess Elizabeth. (18) Character of Queen Catherine. (19) Beginning of the study of Greek in England. (20) Hampton Court.

Suggestive topics

Search topics

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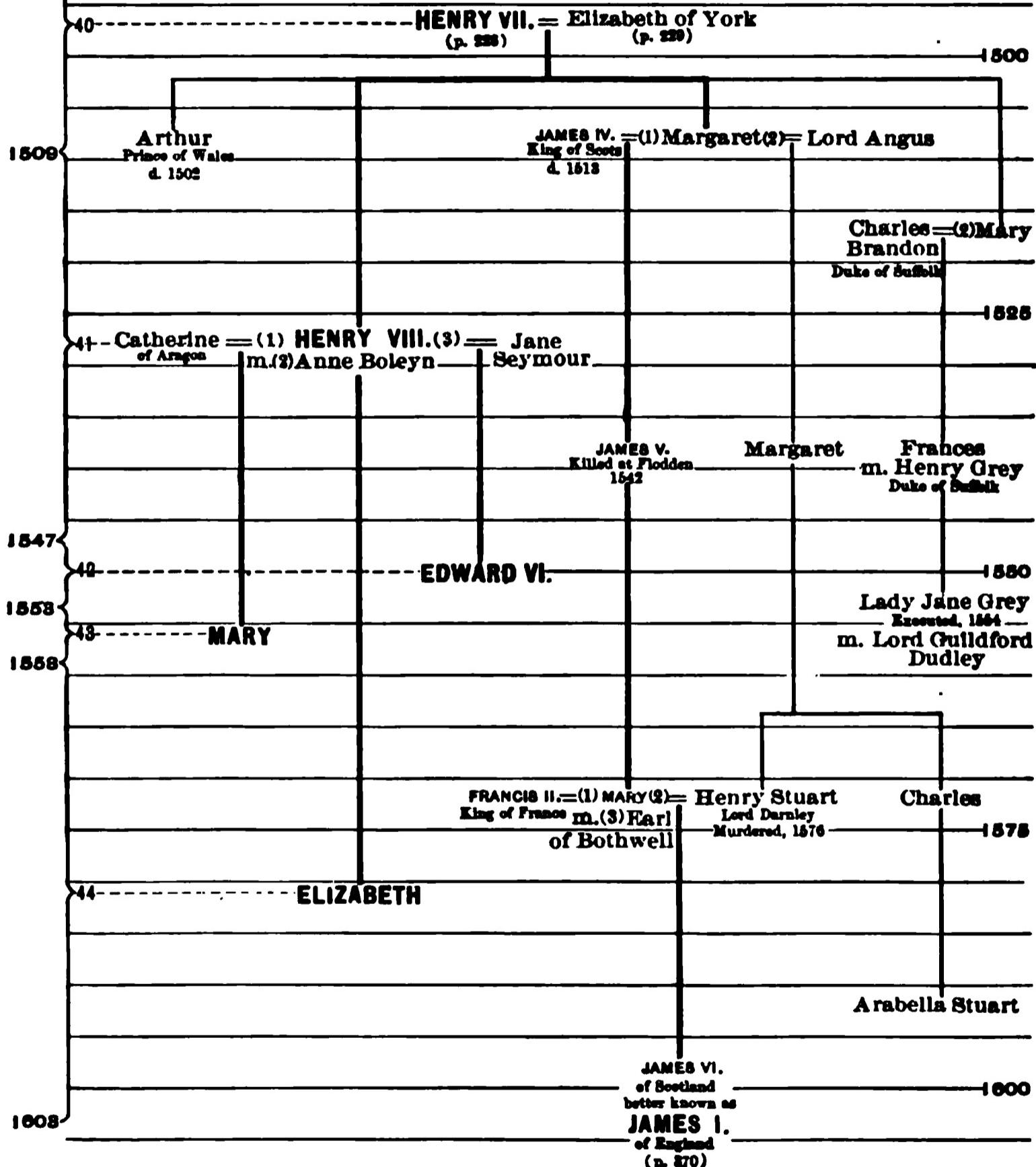
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1485

THE TUDOR LINE

Time scale, 25 years to one inch



CHAPTER XVIII.

CRISIS IN RELIGION UNDER EDWARD VI. AND MARY TUDOR (1547-1558)

289. The Reformation in Europe The reigns of Edward VI. and of Mary Tudor, together covering only eleven years, were free from serious foreign complications. During these years other states were rent by religious wars and civil dissensions.

The Reformation movement, which on the Continent involved matters of doctrine as well as of church government and morals, had already swept over Norway, Sweden, Denmark, northern Germany, and parts of France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; and everywhere the attempts of the Roman Catholic monarchs to crush out the new heresies produced violent civil strife.

Under Edward VI., the

290. Trend of England toward Protestantism Reformation in England entered on a new phase, marked by the adoption of the "reformed" Protestant doctrines, under the influence of the young king's guardians. At first affairs were



EDWARD VI., HOLDING THE YORK AND TUDOR ROSE.

From a portrait by Holbein.

directed by a council presided over by Edward's uncle, the Duke of Somerset, who used his position to support the Reformation at home and abroad. Aided by Archbishop Cranmer, he quite transformed the church, causing the clergy to repudiate distinctively Catholic doctrines, and abolishing many of the ancient practices which he held to be superstitious. To save Scotland to Protestantism, he again urged the marriage of Edward and Mary of Scots; and being refused, he plunged the kingdom into war with Scotland, and later with France. As a result of these follies, the Scots betrothed Mary to the Dauphin of France, and the English were driven into revolts that led to Somerset's removal from office and his execution. His successor, the Duke of Northumberland, also favored Protestantism, as being most favorable to his own ambitious schemes.

The vital distinction between the Catholic and Protestant faiths lay in their different answers to the question, "What things are essential to the salvation of the human soul?"¹ The Roman Catholic doctrine is that the church, of which the Pope is the visible head, is the only authoritative guide as to what is true or false in religious doctrine, the only earthly mediator between God and man, and therefore a necessary instrumentality for salvation. This claim rests upon the church's interpretation of Christ's words to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church."

Another passage which was held to be of almost equal importance was that containing Christ's words at the Last

291. Fundamental
Catholic
and
Protestant
doctrines

*Matthew
xvi. 18, 19*

¹ The study of religious dogma should in general be left until the pupil is more mature; but the subsequent political history of England can not be intelligently understood unless the student understands clearly the nature of the religious change brought about by the Reformation, and exactly what was meant by certain expressions, like "transubstantiation," which appear again and again in the legislation of the next two centuries. Of course, the question of the truth of these dogmas is wholly outside the limits of a course in English history.

Supper (Matthew xxvi. 26-28). The Roman Church holds that the words "take, eat, this is my body," etc., imply a miraculous change of the substance of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ, which takes place at every celebration of the mass. This doctrine, called "transubstantiation," was combated by the Reformers, who claimed that Christ spoke figuratively, and that the bread and wine undergo no change of substance.

In thus exercising the right to interpret the Scriptures for themselves, the Reformers were giving expression to the fundamental ideas of Protestantism — that the historic church is not a necessary agent in man's salvation, and that it is the right of every man to adjust for himself his relations with his Maker. At first they failed to see this logical implication of their position, and for a long time the Church of England exerted all the powers of the ancient Roman Church in matters of doctrine and discipline over all English subjects.

In 1549 Cranmer and certain associates prepared a ritual in English based on the ancient usages but adapted in its phraseology and forms to the new beliefs. Three years later an enlarged prayer book was issued, the use of which was obligatory on all the clergy. Its framers had three objects in view: (1) to make the people familiar with the Scriptures by having a large part of the Bible read during divine service in the course of each year; (2) to complete the separation from Rome by carrying on the whole service in the English instead of the Latin language; (3) to rid the service of certain alleged superstitious and unhistorical legends and conceptions. As a further measure against superstition, the government ordered that images and stained glass windows depicting the lives and miracles of the saints should be destroyed; and it completed the liberalizing of the church by permitting the clergy to marry. In 1553 the king and his council formally impressed upon the church the stamp of

292. Transformation of the English Church

Protestantism by issuing forty-two "Articles of Doctrine" formulated by Cranmer and approved by Convocation — later (under Elizabeth) reduced to thirty-nine.

Thus the Anglican Church in its general form was completely established when Edward died (1553), after a reign of only six years. As soon as the king showed evidence of failing health, and it was seen that he would die unmarried, Northumberland's ambition led him to scheme to retain power after Edward's death. To prevent a return to Roman Catholicism, which was certain to happen if Edward's sister Mary succeeded him, Northumberland secured the marriage of his son Lord Guildford Dudley to Lady Jane Grey, great-granddaughter of Henry VII., and induced Edward to make a will settling the succession upon this young lady. On Edward's death in July, 1553, Northumberland caused Lady Jane Grey to be proclaimed queen, but his action created no enthusiasm, and he failed in an attempt to seize the person of Mary Tudor. Mary fled to Norwich and rallied

293. Plot
for a
Protestant
succession



INSCRIPTION [JANE] CUT IN LORD GUILDFORD DUDLEY'S CELL IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

certain lords to her support; and upon her advance toward London the rebellion collapsed. Although Northumberland submitted at once, he was imprisoned and promptly beheaded; and later Lady Jane Grey, the innocent victim of his ambition, followed him to the block.

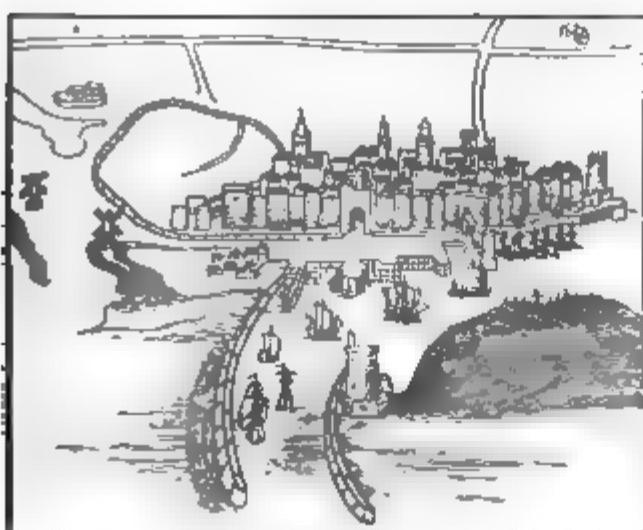
Mary's reign extended over five years, from 1553 to 1558. Her policy was influenced by her devout Catholicism and by her great reverence for her cousin, the Emperor Charles V. At home she set herself the task of gradually restoring England to the Catholic faith and to the government of

294. Mary's
Catholic
policy

the Pope. The Reformation bishops, like Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were arrested; the Catholic bishops were restored to the sees from which they had been removed; and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who accepted the Roman Catholic doctrines, although he rejected the authority of the Pope, was made chancellor. Guided by Gardiner, the church returned to the policy of Henry VIII.; the use of the new prayer book was abolished, and the statutes in regard to the divorce of Catherine were repealed, so that Mary's legitimacy might be unquestioned.

In 1554 the Emperor Charles V. induced Mary to marry his son, Philip II. of Spain (see table, p. 394), so that he might have the support of England in his struggle with France. Parliament at first protested, but later a more subservient

Parliament not only consented to the marriage, but even bestowed the title of king upon Philip. The nation was fitly punished for its weakness; for near the end of her reign Mary attacked France to please her husband, and in 1558 the French retaliated by besieging and capturing Calais,



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CALAIS AS FORTIFIED BY THE ENGLISH.

From a MS. of the sixteenth century.

for two hundred and eleven years had been England's gate to the Continent.

After Mary's marriage to the champion of Catholicism, the 296. Mary's time seemed ripe for a return to Rome. The government counter-reformation (1554) secured a Parliament favorable to its plans; and Cardinal Pole, an Englishman of noble blood, was made papal

legate to England, with authority to bring about the reconciliation. November 29, 1554, Parliament voted to acknowledge the authority of the Roman Pontiff; on the next day the nation was declared absolved from its guilt; and a month later an act was passed which repealed all the legislation hostile to the Pope since 1528.

The Church of Rome now had a brilliant opportunity to recover its ancient hold upon the hearts of the English people, by wise treatment of the late rebels, by purity of life and religion among the clergy, by pliability in matters not essential to doctrine or discipline. Its failure to do so may be charged to the unwisdom of Mary and the bigotry of Philip, to the covetousness and greed of many of the clergy, and to the injudicious abuse of his power by the ruling Pope. No sooner was the union with Rome made than a persecution of those who refused to accept the new conditions was begun and carried on with great severity. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, and many others who refused to be reconciled to Rome, were burned at the stake. These executions for conscience' sake were few compared with those in Spain, and hardly more numerous than those under Henry VIII. or Elizabeth ; but Mary purposely made her punishments severe and conspicuous, believing that the Reformation would never have taken place had decisive measures been taken at the first outbreak. The effect, however, was that the English people shrank from a church which so ruthlessly used the stake and fagots, and attributed Mary's cruel measures to Spanish influence.

At the time of reconciliation, it was agreed that all church lands alienated by Henry should be retained by their present holders ; but now the Pope saw fit to claim for the church all of its former property which was still in the possession of the crown, and to cast doubt upon the validity of the titles to that portion of it held by the nobles.

296. The
Marian
persecution

297. The
Roman
Church's
lost oppor-
tunity

Unfortunately for his own cause, the Pope quarreled with the queen by depriving Pole, now Archbishop of Canterbury, of his legateship; and Mary, with true Tudor spirit, refused



SHILLING OF PHILIP AND MARY.

"D[ei] G[ratia] R[eges] ANG[lie] FR[ancie]
NEAP[olis] PR[incipes] HISP[aniæ]."

to allow the Pope's orders to that effect to be promulgated in England. Thus Mary herself set the example of resistance to the Pope; so that at her death, in 1558, the hold of Catholicism upon the nation was weakened by her

own attitude, as well as by the popular horror at her bitter persecution of heretics, and by the national antagonism to Spain. No child was born to Philip and Mary; and since Elizabeth, the next in succession, was under Protestant influence, the return to Protestantism was almost a foregone conclusion.

The brief reigns of Edward VI. and Mary Tudor constitute the critical period in the religious history of the state.

290. Sum- Edward, weak in body and supine in temper, suffered his **mary** advisers to force upon a submissive people a creed and ritual which they were not yet prepared heartily to accept. The episode of Lady Jane Grey proved that the nation was not ready to fight to enthrone a Protestant monarch; and the failure opened the way for a counter-reformation. Mary, ardent in feeling and narrow in judgment, taught her people to hate Roman Catholicism by identifying it with Spanish intolerance and cruelty. In the revulsion of feeling thus created, the amity with Spain which had existed since the days of Henry VII. gave place to fierce antagonism toward that country — a feeling which more than anything else gave to the reign of Elizabeth its distinctive character.

TOPICS

(1) By whom was the truth of transubstantiation questioned before this period? (2) Why did the query arouse so much more interest than formerly? (3) How was it that the execution of heretics seemed right both to Henry VIII. and to Mary? (4) Why did Mary especially desire the death of Cranmer? (5) What were the special advantages which the possession of Calais gave to the English? (6) Was there any precedent for Edward's action in bequeathing the crown by will? (7) Why was the question of the title to abbey lands so important?

(8) The life of Thomas Cranmer. (9) Mary Tudor's treatment of her sister Elizabeth. (10) The character of Lady Jane Grey. (11) Philip II., the most powerful monarch in Europe. (12) The Statute of Præmunire; its place in previous English history. (13) Wyatt's Rebellion. (14) Death of Rev. John Rogers. (15) Why did the Pope seek to displace Pole? (16) Philip in England. (17) How was Calais captured?

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CHAPTER XIX.

POLITICAL CRISIS UNDER ELIZABETH (1558-1603)

THE reign of Elizabeth marks a crisis in English history, when the religion of the state, its liberal government, and its place among the world powers all hung in the balance. *Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen"* The young queen, encompassed by foes without and traitors within her realm, was compelled to deal with the most difficult political problems; and the best proof

of her great administrative ability is her successful reign lasting almost half a century. Elizabeth was a curious compound of masculine and feminine traits. Her skill at exercises like riding and shooting, her rough temper and unruly speech, her grasp of finance and of statecraft, her sense of the greatness of England's destiny, were distinctly masculine; her love of finesse, of gallant attentions, of display, was as distinctly feminine. Her wardrobe



ELIZABETH.

In the state costume worn at the service of thanksgiving at Saint Paul's Cathedral after the defeat of the Armada.

contained thousands of dresses and many jewels; her courtiers squandered fortunes to entertain her with masques and pageants.

Elizabeth dissembled with her counselors, with her political rivals and allies, almost with herself. She deliberately made capital of her youth and feminine charm to create among the young noblemen of her court an admiration and enthusiastic loyalty to herself, as the best safeguard for her throne. Her marriage with either a Catholic or a Protestant would have increased partisan strife both in England and on the Continent, so she early resolved to remain unwedded. "I have long since made choice of a husband, the Kingdom of England," she said to her Parliament. Nevertheless, she received many proposals of marriage from foreign suitors, and with these she used coquetry as a diplomatic weapon, to gain time or to delude her enemies.

Back of this apparent vacillation was a strong, imperious will, which compelled her ministers, however able and independent in opinion, to submit to her control. She bullied them, swore at them in council, or boxed their ears at public functions, without restraint or shame. Fortunately she was as wise and steadfast in important matters as she was vain, capricious, exacting, and unreasonable in smaller things. She rarely lost sight of her larger aims, and often showed herself a statesman more clear-brained if not more far-sighted than her ablest ministers. Cecil, her Secretary of State, was eager to enlist England in defense of the Protestant cause upon the Continent; but Elizabeth steadily refused to involve the country in war until she had made her own position secure and had strengthened the resources of the state. Thus, when the critical struggle with Spain could no longer be avoided, she was strong enough to win a complete and decisive victory.

Apparently circumstances, rather than conviction, shaped Elizabeth's attitude toward religion. Since the Pope still denied the validity of Catherine's divorce, and con-

301. Her religious policy

sequently her own legitimacy, she could not accept the Pope's supremacy without facing the danger that he would award the

throne to her cousin, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland (see table, p. 263). She therefore induced Parliament to restore the supremacy of the monarch "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things as temporal." To supplement this change, the revised prayer book of Edward VI. was again brought into use, and an Act of Uniformity was passed (1559) forbidding any other form of public worship than the one therein prescribed (Appendix K); but as

Elizabeth wished to retain as

many of her people as possible within the state church, she did not at first strictly enforce this law.

Among the clergymen now restored to their livings, were a group of men who, during Mary Tudor's reign, had fled to Hol-

903. The Puritans land and to Switzerland, and had there become imbued with the austere doctrines of John Calvin. These men were determined to create a wider gap between the English and the Roman Church by "purifying" the service of what they claimed to be superstitious ceremonies (whence the name Puritans); among these were the wearing of a white surplice by officiating clergymen, the kneeling at the reception of the sacrament, and the keeping of fast and festival days. The zeal of these Puritans defeated Elizabeth's policy of broad toleration within the church, and compelled her to enforce more strictly the Act of Uniformity; and as a result many Puritans, toward the end of her reign, abandoned the church and gathered secretly in so-called "conventicles" for religious



MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS.
From a painting in Edinburgh.

worship in accordance with their own convictions, thus forming the first of many sects of "dissenters."

Many of the returned refugees were adherents of the type of church organization worked out by Calvin under the name of Presbyterianism. This was essentially a democratic system, in which the control was vested in "presbyters," a body of ministers and lay elders elected by the members of the congregations. Such a system appealed to that portion of the English people who had departed furthest from Catholicism, but it was wholly unacceptable to Elizabeth and probably to a large majority of the people. For a time, therefore, the Puritans were content to hold Calvin's religious doctrines, while accepting the existing form of church government; but as early as 1572 there began a struggle between the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian type of church organization, each claiming to be based on the Scriptures and therefore binding on all Christians.

303. Pres-
byterian
radicals

Meanwhile Catholics upon the Continent set themselves the task of winning back England to the Roman Church before it should be too late, principally through the agency of the order of Jesuits. Seminaries for the training of English Jesuits were founded at Douay, at Rheims, and at Rouen, whence devoted missionaries were sent to England to labor secretly. The number of Catholics who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy and to attend the regular church services was alarmingly increased. Against these "recusants" Elizabeth proceeded with even more vigor than against the Puritans; and Parliament strengthened her hands by acts which made the presence of a Catholic missionary in England equivalent to treason, and prescribed the death penalty for those who assisted in celebrating the mass. Meeting in Protestant conventicles was discouraged by punishing absence from church with heavy fines, sometimes amounting to two thirds of the offender's income. From time

304. Con-
test with
the Catho-
lic party

to time Elizabeth appointed Commissioners to secure uniformity in religion, and in 1583 created a permanent Court of High Commission, to enforce ecclesiastical law, to root out heresies among the clergy, and to punish immoralities and neglect of church services among the laity. By these measures, the mass of the people were held in line until the "Church of England by law established" became so strong in organization and tradition that neither Catholics nor Calvinists were able permanently to shake its foundations.

Unable to make head in England, Elizabeth's enemies sought to deprive her of Ireland, where the Reformation had alienated many of the inhabitants of the Pale. In 1565 the lions in Ireland O'Neils revolted in Ulster, and four years later the (1565-1579) Desmonds drew all of Munster into rebellion. The Spaniards and the Pope aided the rebels with money and men, and before the revolts were crushed (1579) all Munster was desolated, the Desmonds were almost annihilated, and their estates were distributed among Elizabeth's favorites, to be colonized with English settlers (map, p. 340).

Probably the most perplexing problem of Elizabeth's reign grew out of her relationship to Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland

306. ~~Eliza-~~ (~~§ 301~~). In the year beth's quar- of Elizabeth's acces- rel with Mary of Scot- sion, Mary was mar- ried to the Dauphin

of France, who two years later ascended the throne as Francis II. On thus becoming queen of France, Mary challenged Elizabeth's title to the throne by assuming the arms and style of queen of England. By this time Presbyterianism had spread through Scotland under the celebrated preacher



MARY R

AUTOGRAPHS OF ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The *R* following each name is for *Regina* (queen).

John Knox, and Mary's mother (Mary of Guise), who was acting as regent, attempted to suppress it. The cause of Protestantism was taken up by certain disaffected nobles who signed a "Covenant" to defend "the whole Congregation of Christ" (1557); a rebellion broke out, and Elizabeth revenged herself upon Mary by lending aid to the Scottish rebels. Thenceforth the enmity of the two queens was never relaxed.



MARY STUART'S BEDROOM, HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

In 1560 Mary's husband died, and she soon returned to Scotland to find that the Presbyterian nobles (called the Lords of the Congregation) had induced the Scottish Parliament to make Presbyterianism the official religion of the state. As Mary was an ardent Catholic, Scotland was soon torn by factional strife between the supporters of the queen and those of her half-brother Murray, an ambitious, domineering nobleman, who made use of the religious dissensions of the kingdom for his own ends. Mary, who was self-indulgent, passionate, and unscrupulous, soon sealed her own fate by a series of mad and criminal actions. Against the advice of her

307. Down-
fall of Mary
of Scots
(1568)

friends, she insisted on marrying her cousin Lord Darnley, a silly, harebrained youth, who speedily alienated her affections by aiding her enemies to murder her secretary, an Italian named Rizzio, in her very presence. Mary sought the protection of the Earl of Bothwell, a man of great wealth and influence; but his reputation and hers were soon absolutely ruined, first by the murder of Darnley, apparently through their agency, and later by their speedy marriage after Bothwell had hastily secured a divorce from his own wife.

From that moment Mary could boast of few friends in England, in Scotland, or even in France. Her husband was driven 308. **Mary of Scots in England (1568 1587)** into exile by Murray, and she herself was imprisoned and forced to abdicate the throne (1567) in favor of her infant son, now James VI. She soon escaped from confinement, however, and again rallied her adherents; but she was once more defeated by Murray at Langside on the Clyde (1568), and forced to take refuge in England. Elizabeth was now in a difficult position. To leave her rival at liberty would be suicidal; yet it was hard to find legal grounds for keeping her in captivity. She therefore decided to hold Mary under temporary restraint until a commission could investigate the circumstances of Darnley's death.

Without waiting for the report of the commission (which declared her guilty of complicity in the murder), Mary from her prison plunged into intrigues against Elizabeth's throne and life, in which she was aided by Spain and France, and by many English Catholics. The first plot aimed to secure the marriage of Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, the leading Catholic peer in England, as a means of uniting the Catholics in England in her behalf and procuring an uprising in the north. This was crushed out, and the rebels were severely punished. Then the Pope was induced to publish a bull of deposition against Elizabeth, and a plan was made for an uprising of the English Catholics under cover of an invasion of England by the

Duke of Alva with Spanish troops then engaged in quelling a revolt in the Netherlands. This plan, however, was postponed for more than a decade, owing to Alva's inability to reduce the Netherlands to order.

The Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, clustered at the mouth of the Rhine; they had formerly belonged to Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and had become 309. Spain and the Netherlands Spanish dependencies through the marriage of his grandson Philip with a Spanish princess and their consequent inheritance by Charles V. Their towns were very wealthy, Ghent being the greatest manufacturing center, Bruges the greatest commercial center, and Antwerp the greatest port, of northern Europe. These provinces were very jealous of their ancient liberties, which received scant attention from the absolutist monarchs of Spain. In prosecuting his quarrels with France, Philip II. quartered his garrisons in the Flemish towns on the border, and further drained the resources of the provinces by grinding taxation. In the northern provinces, of which Holland was the chief, Protestantism was making rapid strides; and when Philip introduced the Inquisition to crush out this heresy, religious and political resentment combined to provoke resistance.

In 1567 the Duke of Alva was given ten thousand picked troops and sent to reduce the Netherlands to subjection; but his measures were so harsh as to provoke open rebellion. Philip was anxious for peace in the Netherlands so that he might be free to attack England, and Alva was dismissed (1573); but the revolt spread and continued until 1579, when the Duke of Parma, a far wiser and bolder ruler than Alva, succeeded in reducing the southern provinces to submission.

The seven northern provinces, however, formed the Union of Utrecht (1579), from which arose the Republic of the United Netherlands, commonly known by the name of its leading state, Holland. The head of the new republic 310. England and the Netherlands



THE NETHERLANDS, ABOUT 1850.

was William of Orange, but he was assassinated in 1584, and the sovereignty was offered to Spain's greatest enemy, Elizabeth of England. The queen refused to assume so great a responsibility, but agreed to assist the infant republic by furnishing four thousand men till the close of the war. By this means

she kept Parma busy in the Netherlands, and this staved off invasion for three years more. Meanwhile Parliament, fearing that the assassination of William would be followed by that of Elizabeth, passed an act (1585) punishing with death any one "assisting or being privy to any plot for the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person."

The need for such legislation was shown by the immediate discovery of a conspiracy, organized by a fanatical Catholic named Anthony Babington, for assassinating Elizabeth and making Mary queen. This conspiracy, early discovered by the watchfulness of Secretary Walsingham, was allowed to ripen unchecked. When the treasonable plot was fully perfected and Mary's complicity was proved beyond shadow of doubt, the conspirators were seized; Mary was tried before a special commission composed of forty members of the Queen's Council and peers of the realm, and was condemned to death. Elizabeth shrank from ordering the execution of a queen, and with characteristic indirectness tried to get her ministers to act without her express authority; but they refused to act illegally in so important a matter, and as Parliament pressed for the immediate death of the "seed-plot of so many conspiracies," Elizabeth finally signed the warrant and Mary was executed in February, 1587.

During her life Mary won enthusiastic adherents to her cause in spite of her crimes, and since her death champions have not been wanting to declare her innocent of those crimes. An impartial scrutiny of the evidence seems to demonstrate that she was lawfully and justly executed under the act of 1585.

Although Spain long remained on terms of peaceful trade with England, about 1565 English sailors — half patriots and half pirates — began to attack the Spanish colonies in America. In 1580–1581, Sir Francis Drake ravaged upon Spain the Spanish coasts of the Pacific, and brought home spoils

311. Fate
of Mary
Stuart
(1587)

312.
Drake's
attacks
upon Spain

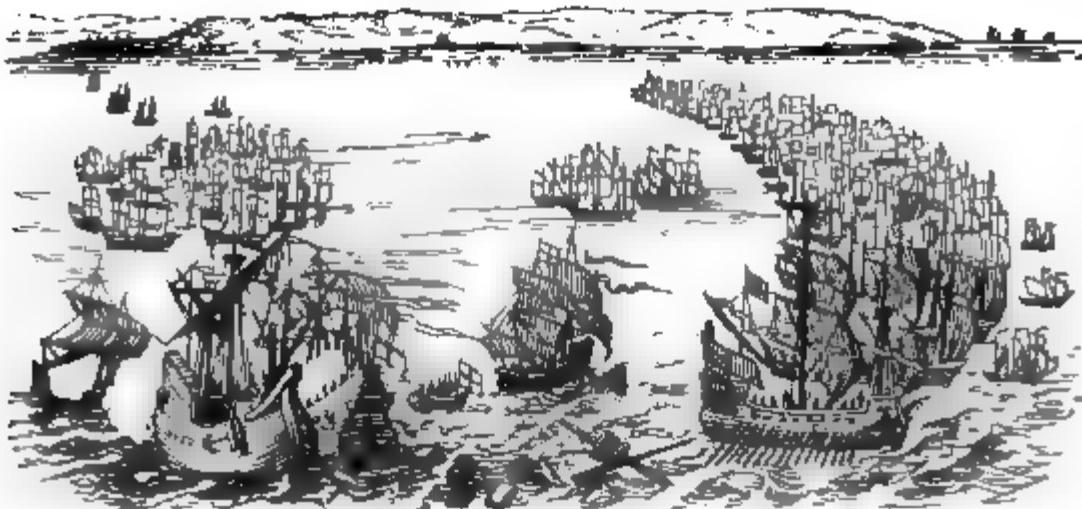
worth half a million pounds. In 1586 he sailed for the West Indies, plundered Vigo, sacked Santiago, and ravaged Santo Domingo and Cartagena. In 1587 he performed a more daring exploit, entering the ports of Cadiz and Corunna in Spain, and burning the store ships and galleys prepared for Philip's invasion of England. Nevertheless the loss was repaired, and in July, 1588, Philip felt himself ready for the long-delayed invasion of England—not now destined to enthrone Mary of Scots, but to avenge her death.

Although the death of Mary destroyed Spain's hope of co-operation from the English Catholics, the manner of it incited

313. The "Invincible Armada" Philip to greater hostility, and vast sums were spent in preparing his "Invincible Armada." The fleet that sailed from Corunna under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia consisted of 73 great ships of war and 76 smaller vessels, manned by 8000 sailors; it bore 22,000 soldiers to complete the conquest of the island, and 300 clerks, monks, and priests to undertake the reëstablishment of Catholicism. Philip planned that this fleet should sail along the English Channel to the Netherlands, where it should take under convoy the 17,000 Spanish troops under Parma, and then make its descent on England.

Elizabeth, more avaricious even than Henry VII., refused to expend money in preparation for defense, trusting to diplomacy to avert war. Neither ammunition nor ships' stores were provided in sufficient quantity, and the supply of food for the navy was already running low when the Armada started. Her fleet, largely improvised, consisted of 34 ships of war and 164 merchant vessels, commanded by Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, and officered by Hawkins, Drake, and other veteran "sea dogs." The land troops, mustered to repel invasion, consisted merely of raw militia, under the queen's favorite, Leicester, a most inefficient commander.

Only about sixty ships were ready to sail from Plymouth Harbor when, on July 19, the Spanish Armada was first discovered off Lizard Point, sailing in a great crescent, ^{314. Attack on the Armada (July 21-29, 1588)} seven miles from tip to tip; but as the inferiority of the English in number and weight of war ships forbade them to join battle directly, they contented themselves with watching the Spanish fleet pass by "very slowly, though with full sails, the winds being, as it were, weary with wafting



THE SPANISH ARMADA.

From tapestry in the House of Lords. Engraved by the Society of Antiquaries.

them and the ocean crushing under their weight;" and then they followed for one entire week, contenting themselves with cutting off stragglers from the line, and taking advantage of the mishaps and mistakes of their enemies. "The English vessels—. . . light, swift, and easily handled—could sail round and round those unwieldy galleons, hulks, and galleys rowed by fettered slave-gangs. . . . They obtained the weather gage at once, and cannonaded the enemy at considerable effect, easily escaping at will out of range of the sluggish Armada."

When the fleet finally cast anchor off Calais, it became necessary for the English to risk a battle in order to prevent

*Motley,
United
Nether-
lands,
ch. xix*

the threatened union with Parma's force at Dunkirk. To drive the Spanish vessels out of the harbor, six fire vessels

315. Defeat were "let drive with the flood" at midnight on Sunday,

**of the
Armada
(July 29,
1588)**

**Richard
Tomson,
Letter to
Secretary
Walsing-
ham**

July 29. The Spanish captains were compelled to "let slip their anchors and cables, and confusedly to drive one upon another; whereby they were not only put from their roadstead and place where they meant to attend the coming of the Duke of Parma, but did much hurt one to another of themselves." The English attacked

in the morning, and continued the fight for eight hours, refusing to grapple, but pouring broadsides of cannon shot and musketry into their bulky opponents. "I tell you, on the credit of a poor gentleman," says the commander of one vessel, "that there were five hundred discharges of demi-cannon, culverin, and demi-culverin, from the *Vanguard*." The Spanish fire was still heavier, but ineffective.

Throughout the action the English lost fewer than a hundred men, and not a single ship, while they inflicted enormous damage on the Armada — so much that after sixteen of the best ships had been destroyed and many others made unseaworthy, the commander gave orders to retreat northward. The English pursued them as far as the Forth, and then desisted for lack of shot, powder, and provisions. Then fierce gales set in, and while the damaged English vessels were able to reach shelter at Margate (p. 385), the Spanish, less manageable, were driven before the gale, and wrecked on the coasts of Norway, Scotland, and Ireland, while striving to return home around the north of Scotland. Eleven hundred bodies were washed ashore in Sligo Bay alone. Less than half the original force, both of ships and of men, reached Spain three months later.

The defeat of the Armada crippled Spain for the time, by

**316. Con-
tinued
struggle
with Spain**

draining her treasury, exposing her commerce to capture, and insuring the loss of the Netherlands. On England the effect was just the reverse. The spirit of nation-

ality and of loyalty was stimulated in the highest degree, and old adventurers like Drake and the younger and more ambitious fire-eaters like Essex were eager to pursue the war and reap all possible advantage from Spain's crushing defeat. The result was a series of attacks on Spanish ports and on Spanish shipping in which English seamen performed prodigies of valor and directed Spanish gold into English coffers. In one of these engagements, ten English merchant vessels took captive twelve Spanish war galleys in the Strait of Gibraltar; in another, Sir Richard Grenville, caught off the Azores by a fleet of fifty Spanish vessels, fought them with his one little ship, the *Revenge*, from three in the afternoon until daybreak of the following day, and yielded only under pressure from his crew, when he himself was mortally wounded.

Philip, in spite of his ill success, clung to the idea of invading England, and raised a second Armada (1596) only to see it wrecked like the first by a terrible storm. He then joined with the Pope in stirring up rebellion in northern Ireland, where the people were induced to range themselves under the leadership of the Earl of Tyrone, head of the O'Neils in Ulster. Elizabeth gave to her latest favorite, the Earl of Essex, an opportunity to win glory by reducing the island to submission. His expedition, however, was wretchedly managed, and in a few months he concluded a peace with the rebels in violation of explicit orders, and returned to England without leave (1599). Later, when summoned before the Star Chamber to account for repeated violations of discipline, Essex foolishly attempted to raise a rebellion among the citizens of London; but the loyalty of the masses to Elizabeth was now invincible, and Essex was arrested and paid the penalty of treason on the block early in 1601. His successor in Ireland, Lord Mountjoy, was more able and more merciless. In three years he defeated the Irish and their Spanish allies, won and fortified district after district, and finally starved the country

317. Close
of Eliza-
beth's reign

into submission. Meanwhile the aged queen was rapidly failing in health, and in March, 1603, she died, at seventy years of age, having ruled England for more than forty-four years.

318. Sum- **mary** Elizabeth's birth, her political entanglements, the misfortune of her relationship to Mary Stuart, left her no choice save to make Protestantism the official religion of the English state. Circumstances, too, by confronting her with a foolhardy and over-confident enemy, enabled her to defeat the Armada, and opened the way to colonial empire and commercial leadership. But circumstances would have availed but little had not the queen known how to profit by opportunity, to cajole, deceive, outwit her enemies on the Continent, to win the love of her subjects, to kindle a national spirit of patriotism, to make her nation great through her own greatness. With this knowledge she easily placed England in the front rank among the European powers; and while she ruled almost as an absolute monarch (there were but thirteen sessions of Parliament in her forty-four years of reign), she gave to England a government "for the people" in harmony with *Somers's Tracts, I. 244* their desires. "Though you have had and may have many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat," she said in her last address to the House of Commons, "yet you never had nor shall have any that will love you better."

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) What was the real objection of the Puritans to the observances mentioned in § 302? (2) What considerations made the task of the English Jesuits difficult? (3) Why was the Act of Uniformity thought to be necessary? (4) Compare the absolutism of Elizabeth with that of her father. (5) What motives led Elizabeth to aid, and what made her hesitate to aid, Mary Stuart's enemies in Scotland? (6) Prove that Mary Stuart strengthened her son's claim to succeed Elizabeth by marrying Darnley. (7) What advantage did Elizabeth gain from Mary's long confinement in England? (8) What geographical and racial

conditions caused the Netherlands to divide into two sections? (9) What varied advantages did Elizabeth gain from the continued strife in the Netherlands? (10) What previous monarch fostered immigration from Flanders?

- (11) A character sketch of Elizabeth from contemporary sources.
- (12) Sir Philip Sidney in the Netherlands.
- (13) Bull baiting, bear baiting, and other amusements of the period.
- (14) The entertainment of Elizabeth at Leicester's castles as depicted in Scott's *Kenilworth*.
- (15) The work of John Knox in Scotland.
- (16) Drake's voyage around the world.
- (17) Incidents of the Armada.

Search topics

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C. Kingsley, *Westward Ho*; Scott, *Kenilworth*, — *The Abbot*; Tennyson, *The Revenge*; Yonge, *Unknown to History*. **Illustrative works**

CHAPTER XX.

INTELLECTUAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND SOCIAL PROGRESS UNDER THE TUDORS

WITH the restoration of order under the Tudors, the Renaissance impulse toward intellectual culture reached England.

§19. The revival of learning in England Then, enriched by the wealth drawn from new industries or pillaged from Spain, Englishmen like the Earl of Surrey, Thomas Earl of Sackville, and Sir Philip Sidney visited France and Italy to acquire the culture of the



BLUNDELL'S SCHOOL, TIVERTON, FOUNDED 1604.
Built partly of timbers from the Armada, gathered on the Cornish coast.

Continent. Others studied at Oxford with foreign-trained teachers like Grocyn and Colet, the first English teachers of Greek; or at Cambridge with Erasmus, a Dutch scholar who had been attracted to England by the new enthusiasm for

learning. In 1509–1512, Dean Colet founded St. Paul's School for the instruction of one hundred and fifty-three children "of every nation, country, and class." "More grammar-schools ^{Quoted by} were founded in the latter years of Henry VIII. than in *Green, ch. vi.* the three centuries before." Still more were founded under Edward VI. and Elizabeth. Many colleges, too, were founded at Oxford and Cambridge by Henry VIII., by Elizabeth, by Wolsey, by the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester.

The curriculums of the universities were broadened to meet the growing requirements of "the new learning." Hundreds of intelligent young men with delight sought the treasures of learning stored up within Greek, Roman, Hebrew, and Arabic books and manuscripts. Hundreds of others turned to the stories of adventure which enriched the literature of the earlier Italian Renaissance, stories dealing with the heroic deeds of "Charlemagne and all his peerage," of the crusaders, of Trojan and Theban heroes. Others busied themselves with the novel study of natural science; and still others, through the study of the Bible in its original Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, tested the claims of the Roman Church, now called in question by the jarring sects of the Reformation.

The literature of the period shows three distinct tendencies: a love of romance, interest in the historic past, and, above all, sympathetic study of the various types of humanity exhibited in everyday life. Among the romances should be mentioned three prose writings: Sidney's *Arcadia* was a pastoral romance describing ideal country life as pictured in the imagination of a dweller at Elizabeth's court; John Lly's *Euphues* was a treatise on friendship, love, and education, as they inspired the enthusiastic youth of Tudor England, presented through the assumed letters of a young Athenian visiting England; *Utopia*, by Sir Thomas More, chancellor under Henry VIII., was a story in which, in the form of a legend told by a companion of Americus Ves-

320. "The
new learn-
ing"

321. Ro-
mantic lit-
erature

pucius, More describes his ideal state, and incidentally throws light upon the conditions of the various classes in England.

Greater than these was the romantic poem *The Faerie Queene*, written by Edmund Spenser to celebrate the glories and describe the history of Elizabeth's reign. In the spirit of the mediæval romances, Spenser, under the allegorical imagery of twelve knights who ride forth to perform feats of valor in the service of the "Faerie Queene," depicts the leading personages and events of that reign — Elizabeth (the Faerie Queene), Leicester, Raleigh, Mary Queen of Scots, Philip II., etc.

The work of the historians of the Tudor and early Stuart periods marks the first important effort of Englishmen toward

**822. His-
torical
literature** historical writing of a modern type. It includes the compilation of Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*; the works of Stowe, whose book on legal records and obscure events makes him the favorite of antiquarians; the narratives of explorers and navigators collected by Hakluyt, and Bacon's *Life of Henry VII*. The ambition of the period is illustrated by Raleigh's enterprising attempt to construct a *History of the World from the Earliest Times*.

The Elizabethan romancers and historians all depict characters more or less idealized, but the crowning glory of the age

**823. The
Elizabethan
drama** was the development of the English drama, in which simple human nature is made interesting for its own sake. The Middle Ages had produced many miracle plays and mystery plays, but the drama proper is probably begun in the notable schoolboy comedy, *Ralph Royster Doyster*, written during the age of Henry VIII. by Nicholas Udall, and in the crude historical tragedy of *Gorboduc*, written in 1562 by Sackville and Norton. Within the following twenty-five years, the drama enlisted the talents of Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Nash, — all endowed with extraordinary powers, — and it reached its culmination in the work of Shakespeare (1564–1616) and Ben Jonson (1574–1637).

William Shakespeare, the greatest dramatist of modern times, produced in whole or in part more than forty dramas, in which he brings out in the highest degree the interest in romantic, in historic, and in contemporary humanity. These three interests correspond roughly to the three stages of his dramatic work. In his earlier years the romantic stories from mediæval European sources, which were then popular, furnished the plots for a series of light comedies of which the *Merchant of Venice* was the crowning work; later he turned for dramatic subjects to English and Roman history, to the lives of heroes like Henry V. and Julius Cæsar; and, during a still later period, the deeper aspects of human life furnished him the inspiration for a series of the most powerful tragedies known to literature — *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*. All these works are marked by an elevation of thought and a kindred elevation of style which stimulate the imagination and uplift the mind and soul.

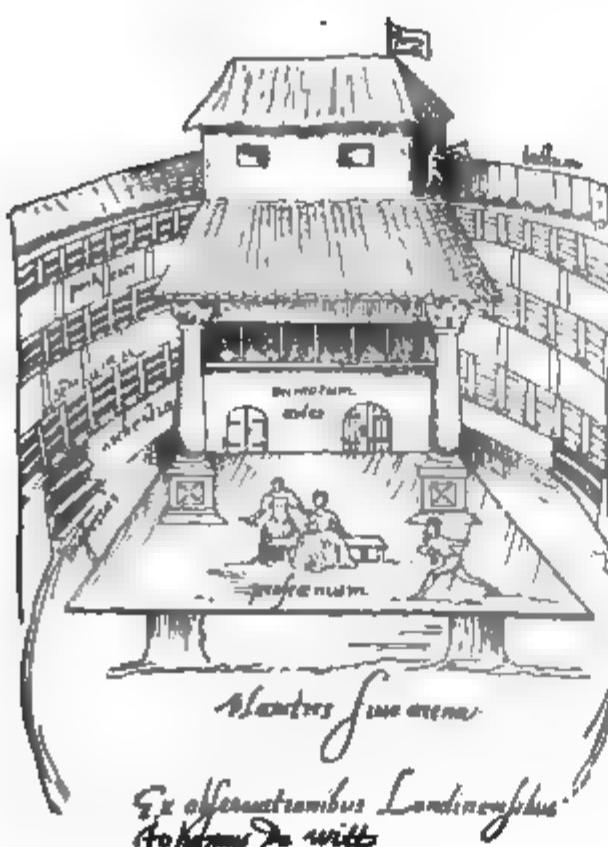
Perhaps the most striking thing in the Renaissance movement was the free use of mediæval or classical models to express new ideas. For example, the "masque," a dramatic production enriched with music, dancing, and architectural and spectacular effects, was imported from Italy, where it had developed in the later mediæval period. In England it was improved, beautified with much classical ornament, and frequently made the vehicle of moral teaching, as in the work of Ben Jonson and in Milton's early masque of *Comus*. The dramas of Shakespeare and his followers were constructed



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.
From the painting by P. Krämer.

324. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
325. Imitation of
classical models

on the model of the Greek and Roman drama, with their rigid division into five acts and their frequent employment of a chorus to supplement the work of the actors.



SWAN THEATER, BANKSIDE, LONDON.

From a sketch made in 1596.

Lyric forms like the sonnet, the ode, and the pastoral were studied upon the Continent, and afterward developed elaborately by English poets. Blank verse, the foundation for the expression of all the noblest dramatic and epic poetry in English literature, was brought from the Continent to England by Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the themes of nearly all the imaginative works of the period were borrowed from Continental sources.

Students of foreign languages catered to this love of learning by the zeal with which they attacked the task of translating

326. Translations into English any important works by foreign authors.

Thus Ariosto's gigantic epic, *Orlando Furioso*, was rendered into English by Harrington, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* by Fairfax, Homer's *Iliad* by Chapman, Virgil's *Aeneid* by Surrey. Most important of all, in 1535 the Scriptures were "faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into English" by Miles Coverdale.

The influence of classical art on architecture was much more **327. Architecture and domestic arts** tardy. In church architecture the Tudor period saw the culmination of the "perpendicular" type of Gothic architecture, with its flat ceilings relieved by "fan vault-

ing," its depressed arches, its windows paneled by vertical mullions, and its characteristic chivalric ornaments — shields, battlements, the Tudor flower, etc. Henry VII.'s chapel, added to Westminster Abbey in 1502-1520, marks alike the limit of development of the perpendicular style and the end of the mediæval period of cathedral building.

For a time, colleges, schools, palaces, and homes were to absorb the attention of architects. The wealthy were no longer content to dwell in the huge barnlike or fortresslike structures of the Middle Ages; and for comfort, beauty, and luxury, the classical type of structure was more suitable than the Gothic. Stately palaces and mansions combining the Græco-Roman column, arch, and ornamental forms, with the steep gable roofs and round towers of the Gothic period, arose all over England. Warmth was secured by covering the walls with tapestry, arras work, or painted cloths, and iron grates and chimneys replaced the smoky open fireplaces. In the rich cloths, showy



GATE OF HONOR, CAIUS COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

Built 1568. Type of Italian Renaissance
architecture.

ruffs, laced doublets, and slashed hose worn by the nobles, and in the more refined household equipment of the common people,—where the feather bed replaced the straw pallet, where metal table furnishings replaced the wooden ware,—we see further evidences of wide general prosperity.

This prosperity arose in part from the rapid growth of English manufactures under the Tudors, due to two causes:

295. (1) The commercial centers of Europe were at this time flooded with the silver and gold brought by Spain from the new world. As the supply of money increased, its purchasing value fell; that is, more silver was required to purchase a given weight of wool or other goods, or, to phrase it still differently, prices rose. The higher prices naturally stimulated production, and for a time manufactures flourished. At first the rural districts complained loudly at the degradation of farms into sheep runs. A contemporary poet mourns because

"Sheepe have eate up our meadows and our downs,
Our corne, our wood, whole villiges and townes.
Yea, they have eate up many wealthy men,
Besides widowes, and orphan childeren;"

but it was only the less productive farms that were converted to wool growing, and the value of the others was soon increased by improved methods of farming,—skillful fertilization, rotation of crops, etc.,—and by the added demand for food products in the towns. Thus farmers shared in the prosperity of the manufacturers.

(2) England profited by the distress of the Netherlands under Spanish rule. By the year 1566, thirty thousand Flemish weavers had migrated to England to escape Philip's tyranny. Elizabeth received them hospitably and established them in Sandwich, Norwich, and other eastern towns; but she shrewdly imposed on them legal restrictions which com-

elled each Flemish family to receive one English apprentice and teach him the art of making and dyeing woolen cloth and silk.



A BELLMAN OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

From a broadside, *The Bellman of London*, 1616.

Much of the cloth thus produced had to be marketed on the Continent, and this led to a second economic change, the growth of England's carrying trade by sea. For this work England was especially fitted through her geographical position, and through the adventurous spirit of her seamen, trained in the hard school of the herring fisheries

329
Growth of
trade with
Europe

and in the still harder experience of the wars with Spain on the high seas. Until the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the great Venetian fleet which carried on Italian trade with Flanders also supplied English wants, touching at Southampton, at Rye, or at Sandwich; now, English merchants became their own purveyors. For example, the Company of Merchant Adventurers (§§ 234, 275) sent its own fleet of fifty vessels twice a year to Flanders, exporting annually more than one hundred thousand pieces of cloth. Nor were its operations confined to the trade with Flanders. Already, while three of its ships were searching for a northern route to India in 1553, one of them had ventured as far as Archangel, on the Arctic coast, and opened up to the English the profitable Russian fur trade; now this trade was developed, and through Russia connection was made with the whale fisheries at Spitzbergen, and with the commerce of Persia and the far East.

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A BELLMAN OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

From a broadside, *The Bellman of London*, 1616.

Much of the cloth thus produced had to be marketed on the Continent, and this led to a second economic change, the growth of England's carrying trade by sea. For this work England was especially fitted through her geographical position, and through the adventurous spirit of her seamen, trained in the hard school of the herring fisheries

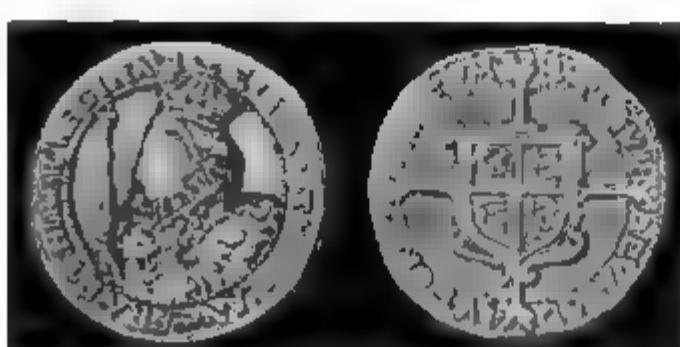
329
Growth of
trade with
Europe

and in the still harder experience of the wars with Spain on the high seas. Until the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the great Venetian fleet which carried on Italian trade with Flanders also supplied English wants, touching at Southampton, at Rye, or at Sandwich; now, English merchants became their own purveyors. For example, the Company of Merchant Adventurers (§§ 234, 275) sent its own fleet of fifty vessels twice a year to Flanders, exporting annually more than one hundred thousand pieces of cloth. Nor were its operations confined to the trade with Flanders. Already, while three of its ships were searching for a northern route to India in 1553, one of them had ventured as far as Archangel, on the Arctic coast, and opened up to the English the profitable Russian fur trade; now this trade was developed, and through Russia connection was made with the whale fisheries at Spitzbergen, and with the commerce of Persia and the far East.

Other English fleets became distributors of goods brought from the East to Lisbon by the Portuguese, usurping the place of the Dutch, who, after the annexation of Portugal to Spain in 1580, were barred out of Lisbon by the hostility of Philip II. Finally, not content to be merely retailers of Eastern goods for Portuguese importers, certain English merchants secured from Elizabeth on the last day of the century (Dec. 31, 1600) a charter for the "Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." Two years later the Dutch organized a similar company, which speedily outstripped its English rival, and became an aggressive power in the far East. It secured a foothold by treaties with native princes, built forts and equipped them with garrisons, maintained an elaborate judicial system, and planted factories and depots for trade at all points available for commercial intercourse with the interior. Thus began an epoch of commercial rivalry carried on between the English and the Dutch, in which trading and colonizing companies played the principal part.

All this economic progress was greatly aided by Elizabeth's financial sagacity and courage in giving to England an honest and stable coinage. At the beginning of the Tudor period, it was customary to coin each pound of silver into four hundred and fifty pennies; Henry VIII. had each

pound coined into five hundred and seventy-six pennies, and Edward VI. increased the number to eight hundred and sixty-four. Thus these two kings reduced the value of the penny



SILVER "CROWN" ISSUED BY ELIZABETH, 1501.

almost one half. In 1560 all this debased coin was called in, and money of full weight was issued in its stead, the govern-

ment assuming the loss from depreciation. In this manner the merchants were supplied with a reliable currency.

The beginning of English colonization is due to the statesmanship of Walter Raleigh. Although erratic and visionary in many respects, Raleigh saw clearly that attacks on Spanish ports or vessels were a poor method of fighting Spain. He appears to have been the first to conceive the idea of opposing Spain by invading her special domain, the American continent, and erecting there against Spanish dominance a lasting bulwark by planting a series of colonies along its coast. Drake might plunder and burn; but Raleigh preferred to plant and settle. In 1585 he sent Sir Richard Grenville to Roanoke Island with a colony of one hundred persons; in 1587 he sent John White with one hundred and fifty more; and although both these attempts failed, yet they led in the next reign to the more lasting work of the Virginia Company.

332. Colonial expansion

The Tudor period was one of great material and intellectual progress. The riches discovered in the new world and the economic progress made in the old world promoted a more widespread diffusion of wealth; and by its aid the sons of nobles, of country gentlemen, of merchants, and even of artisans, were enabled to study the ancient literatures and the newer arts. Institutions of learning flourished, intellectual culture became fashionable; the drama, the epic poem, and the masque became naturalized in England. The manner of living became more elaborate for the rich, and more comfortable and healthful for the poor. The enthusiasm evoked by the plucky fight of the Virgin Queen for her crown and her life pervaded the entire national life, and found a vent in maritime enterprise which carried the English flag into hitherto unknown regions. In such associations as the East India Company lay the germ of the present vast colonial empire of England.

333. Summary

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) State the various reasons why cathedral building declined during the Reformation. (2) Show how the reading of romances affected the life of the time. (3) Compare the work of Grenville and Raleigh with that of the crusaders. (4) Review the history of the wool industry in England. (5) Was the turning of the poorer farms into sheep runs on the whole well or ill for the English people? (6) Would prices tend to rise or to fall because of the debasement of the currency? (7) Why in a period of such prosperity should vagabondage increase? (8) What influence probably caused the exclusion of theaters from the limits of the city of London? (9) What effect would the translation of the Scriptures into English tend to produce on the religious unity in England? (10) Why did not Spain plant colonies as vigorously as England during this period?

Search topics

(11) Shakespeare's debt to Holinshed's *Chronicles*. (12) The "euphuistic" fashion in speech and literature. (13) Account of Keats's sonnet in praise of Chapman's translation of Homer. (14) A description of More's Utopian state. (15) The staging of a play in Shakespeare's time. (16) A comparison of Shakespeare's "Shylock" and Marlowe's "Jew of Malta." (17) An English school of the Elizabethan period. (18) References to Elizabeth in contemporary poetry. (19) The intellectual work of Dean Colet. (20) Why did people wish to know Greek? (21) Dress of an English gentleman about 1580. (22) Methods of carrying on the cloth business. (23) Trace the origin of the expressions "pound sterling," "crown," "shilling," "penny," "farthing."

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CHAPTER XXI.

CONTEST OVER THE ROYAL PREROGATIVE (1603-1640)

JAMES VI. of Scotland, who as King James I. succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England, was a man of fair abilities,

334. The first Stuart monarch but very vain, and full of a belief in the "divine right of kings" to exercise supreme authority "as God's anointed" rulers. This doctrine was thus set forth in a law dictionary of the time: "He [the king] is above the law by his absolute power: and though for the better and equal course in making laws, he do admit the Three Estates

unto Council, yet this is not of constraint, but of his own benignity, or by reason of the promise made upon oath at the time of his coronation. . . . Yet this oath notwithstanding, he may alter or suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtful to the public estate." With this conviction James was resolved not to submit in England to restraints such as had been imposed upon his mother and himself in Scotland, but rather to



HERALDIC DEVICE OF JAMES I.

Tudor rose and Scottish thistle.



JAMES I. IN HAWKING COSTUME.

exercise to the full his authority over both church and state. This attitude forced Parliament to examine more strictly the

limits of the royal "prerogative"—the authority left in the hands of the king, to be used according to his own judgment for the good of the nation. Besides the ancient crown rights over forests, wardship, coinage, etc., it included such matters as (1) the choice of ministers; (2) the bestowal of peerages; (3) the granting of charters to guilds, trading companies, and town and city governments; (4) the regulation of trade by monopolies and duties; (5) the imprisonment of special offenders against the state; (6) the pardon of offenders, and the suspension of the law in particular cases; (7) the levying of special taxes to meet extraordinary demands for money. It was an essential part of the theory of the prerogative that it be used with judgment, and for the good of the state. Its misuse was the cause of such constitutional reforms as those of Magna Charta and the Confirmatio Cartarum.

335. The
royal pre-
rogative

The doctrine of the Stuarts (James and his son Charles I.) as to the prerogative included several errors. (1) They believed that the king's rights were absolute and unlimited, and that he conceded certain limited powers to Parliament—instead of seeing that the power of the nation was unlimited, and that it conceded certain limited powers to the king. (2) They therefore stretched the prerogative to include powers which Parliament had often denied to the king. (3) They did this in the face of the most intense and widespread opposition. For example, they perverted the right to regulate trade by levying duties into the right to raise an income from duties; they used special taxes for the same purpose; they used the right of imprisonment to prevent criticism of their own actions; and they extended the right of pardon from individuals to whole classes, and thus wholly nullified parliamentary statutes. In the end they alienated both Parliament and the nation at large, and forced the withdrawal of rights hitherto conceded to every monarch.

336. Stuart
abuse of the
prerogative

The first event of James's reign foreshadowed a schism

within the Church of England. Immediately on his accession he was confronted with a petition from eight hundred and twenty-five clergymen, urging the abolition of the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, and of the ring in marriage, and pleading for other Puritan reforms.

237. The religious problem A few months later a conference of clergymen was called at the royal palace at Hampton Court, to settle once for all the religious policy of the government. Unfortunately for the Puritans, their doctrines were regarded as the entering wedge of Presbyterianism, the democratic element of which was hateful alike to the officers of the established church and to the king. Under a Presbyterian system, he declared, "Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasures censure me and my Council and all our proceedings"; and one of the bishops declared that the king spoke "by the instinct of the spirit of God." The only fruit of this conference was the authorization of a fresh translation of the Bible — the King James Version. By the king's refusal to sanction changes, the Puritans were forced into the position of a dissenting sect; and within the next six years hundreds of the clergy were expelled from their livings for "nonconformity" with the statutes. "I will make them conform," said James at Hampton Court, "or I will harry them out of the land."

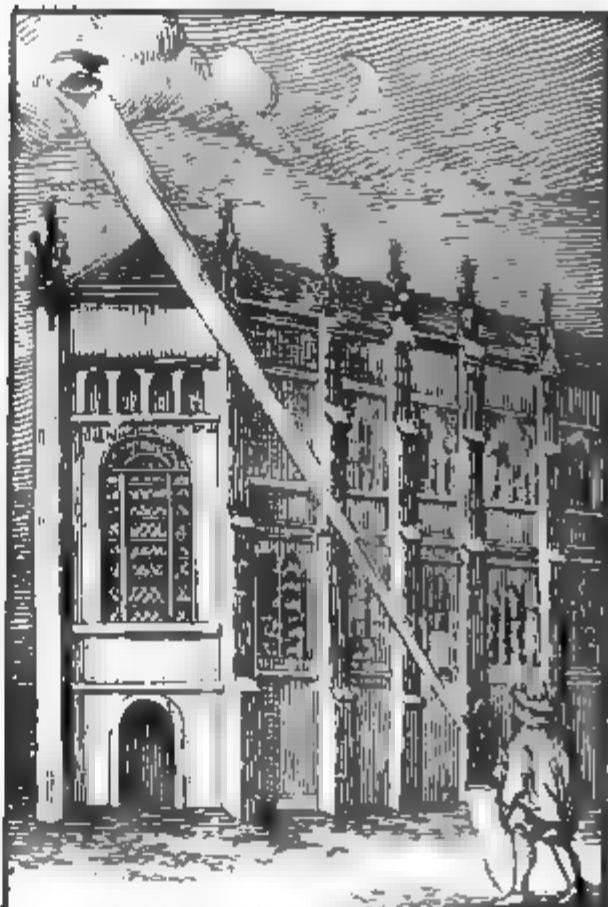
Within a few months the life of the king was twice put in serious danger by conspiracies. At his accession, Sir Walter Raleigh and Cecil (son of Elizabeth's great secretary) were at odds over the foreign policy of the government — Raleigh clamoring for continued war with Spain,

238. Plots against James (1603-1604) Cecil for peace. As James chose Cecil for his adviser, Raleigh gave his countenance to plots to seize the king's person and, possibly, to place Arabella Stuart on the throne; but Cecil discovered the plot, sent his rival to prison, and negotiated a favorable peace with Spain in 1604.

The fear of foreign invasion removed, James wished to

relax the laws against English Catholics; but he liked the revenue from fines levied on Catholic recusants (£20 a month for each person convicted), and Parliament compelled him to enforce the laws rigidly. Force begat force: in the fall of 1604 a few desperate and revengeful Catholics concocted the celebrated Gunpowder Plot in order to clear the way for the restoration of Catholicism. To this end they planned to blow up the Parliament House at the opening of the session of 1605, when the king, the Prince of Wales, and the archbishops and bishops of the English Church would all be gathered in a single building. A soldier named Guy Fawkes was given the task of secretly storing the necessary gunpowder in the cellar of the House of Parliament, but the plot was betrayed by a relative of one of the intended victims, and most of the conspirators were seized and punished. The discovery of this plot led to increased harshness in the execution of the laws against both Catholics and Protestant dissenters.

The temper of James's Parliaments proved that the previous Tudor absolutism had existed only by sufferance. The first one summoned (1604) attacked the divine-right theory by asserting that its own privileges — such as control over disputed elections and exemption of its (1604-1614)



HEAVEN DISCOVERING THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

From a print, 1605.

339.

James's
first contest
with Parlia-
ment

members from arrest — were matters of right and not of the king's grace. At a later session it questioned the right of the king to levy import duties, but was defeated by a decision of the courts in favor of the king. James's extravagance, however, forced him to apply to the House of Commons for a large grant of money, and the latter showed its independence by making the grant conditional on a redress of grievances, whereupon the king in anger dissolved the Parliament. A second Parliament, called in 1614, proved equally stubborn, and was promptly dissolved without passing a single act — whence it received the name of the Addled Parliament.

After the death of Cecil, in 1612, James gave the government into the hands of certain personal favorites. The first 340. Rule of these, a former Scottish page named Robert Carr, of Buckingham was loaded with titles and powers; but he was soon (1616-1626) discarded in favor of George Villiers, a Lincolnshire gentleman who was made successively Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Buckingham. Although endowed with considerable talent, Buckingham was ruined by his too rapid rise to power. He became fabulously rich in a single year, largely through the sale of monopolies issued under the pretense of encouraging home manufactures and regulating commerce. His ability to secure titles, offices, and favors of every sort from the king easily won him an enormous following. At his bidding country gentlemen were created barons, barons were raised to the rank of earls, lawyers were made judges, and judges were given sinecure offices.

Among the men whom Buckingham thus patronized was Francis Bacon (1561-1626), the most remarkable English-341. Francis Bacon man of that generation. Able and ambitious, but unscrupulous, Bacon first came to power by aiding in the prosecution of his own patron, Essex, for treason (§ 317). He became attorney-general in 1613, and with the aid of Bucking-

ham rose to be privy councilor, Lord Keeper, Lord Chancellor, and a peer of the realm (Lord Verulam, 1618; Viscount St. Albans, 1621). Unfortunately for his reputation, he several times misused his official powers as chancellor to please Buckingham.

Bacon's greatness lay in science rather than in politics. He was the author of several philosophical and scientific works of great power, the most notable of which, the *Novum Organum*, marks an epoch in the history of science. In this he first clearly pointed out and formulated the method of scientific investigation by induction from observed facts, and thus pointed the way to all the marvelous scientific discoveries of modern times.

The profuse bestowal of titles and offices gave James and Buckingham complete control of the upper house and of the law courts, but it roused an equally strong opposition among the people at large. Consequently the Parliament summoned after a seven years' interval in 1621 proved almost as difficult to control as its predecessor. The Thirty Years' War between the Catholic and the Protestant states of Germany was now going on, and James's daughter Elizabeth was married to Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate (a state of the Empire situated in the middle Rhine valley), who was the Protestant candidate for the emperorship. Parliament voted a small sum of money to be spent in assisting Frederick, but the Commons seized this opportunity to make an attack upon Buckingham's traffic in monopolies. Bacon was impeached and removed from office on the charge of accepting bribes, and the monopolies were canceled by the king.

No sooner had James yielded this point, than certain members began to discuss his relations with Spain; for James had long been negotiating a marriage between his son Charles and the Spanish Infanta, and it was suspected (1621-1625) that he had made undue concessions to England's ancient

342. Opposition to
Buck-
ingham

enemy. The king forbade Parliament to discuss this subject, and the Commons promptly voted that the state, the defense of the realm, the Church, the laws, and grievances were proper matters for them to debate. James, in a violent temper, went in person to the House and tore from the journal the leaf containing this resolution (1622).



CHARLES I.

From the portrait by Van Dyck.

and Charles became king both of England and of Scotland.

In accordance with Buckingham's treaty, a struggle with Spain began in the first year of Charles's reign, when a fleet

344. Foreign policy of Charles I. was dispatched to Cadiz to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet from the American mines. In spite of James's large income, the royal treasury was now so empty that war vessels could not be procured, and the fleet was made up of merchant vessels with seamen pressed into service. To secure the necessary equipment, Charles resorted to forced loans. The undertaking thus ill begun was worse managed; and the fleet returned home without capturing either Cadiz or the treasure fleet (1625).

Two years later, Louis XIII. of France, who was preparing to enter the Thirty Years' War as a foe of the Empire, attempted to make himself safe from attack at home by depriving the

Huguenots of certain towns which they were holding as guarantees of freedom of worship. Buckingham, hoping to regain some prestige by aiding oppressed Protestants, assumed charge of an expedition to assist the Huguenots besieged in Rochelle. The expense of this expedition, also, was met by forced loans and the illegal levying of tonnage (tunnage) and poundage. The English fleet blockaded the principal fort of the besiegers, but at the last moment the French broke the blockade. Disease thinned the ranks of the English soldiery, a final attempt to storm the place with the weakened forces resulted in failure, and Buckingham returned to England in disgrace.

Meanwhile three successive Parliaments turned to account Buckingham's follies and the king's necessities. The first (1625) demanded the right to control the expenditure as well as the granting of money, and was dissolved by the angry king. In the second (1626) the Commons moved the impeachment of Buckingham; as a result, "Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Eliot were committed to the Tower; and the King came to the Lords' House, and told them of it; and that he could clear Bucks [Buckingham] of every one of the matters whereof he was accused." The Commons persisting in the impeachment, Parliament was dissolved. A third, summoned after the failure of the Rochelle expedition, prepared a "Petition of Right" (1628), in which were set forth certain ancient rights of the English people which had fallen into abeyance under the Tudor sovereigns. To safeguard these rights, Parliament demanded from the king an explicit acknowledgment that it was illegal (1) to levy benevolences in any form; (2) to levy a direct tax without the consent of Parliament; (3) to billet soldiers upon the citizens; (4) to grant commissions to military officers to execute martial law in times of peace; and (5) to imprison citizens without preferring definite charges. Charles needed money so much that, in consideration of a

345. Peti-
tion of
Right (1628)

Whitelocke's
Memorials,
1626

vote of five "subsidies" (the amount of a subsidy was now fixed at £70,000), he gave his assent to the Petition of Right, and thus resigned the powers in dispute for himself and his successors forever. Parliament unwisely omitted to include in the list the arbitrary levying of tonnage and poundage, and when, later in the session, it remonstrated against this practice also, it was prorogued.

Buckingham, anxious to repair his damaged military reputation, planned a fresh expedition for the relief of Rochelle, but

346. Death of Buckingham (1628) on the eve of his departure (August, 1628) he was assassinated by a disappointed and revengeful officer of his previous expedition. Rochelle surrendered to Louis five days later, and Charles's foreign policy was thus shown to be hopeless. In January, 1629, Charles reassembled Parliament, which renewed its attack upon tonnage and poundage with still more spirit than before.

In March, Pym, Hampden, and Sir John Eliot

347. Protest against arbitrary taxation (1629) prepared a remonstrance against this abuse. The speaker, by the king's order, refused to read it to the House, and attempted to adjourn the meeting, but was forcibly held down in the chair by Holles and Valentine. The door was locked, so that the king's officers outside could not enter with a notice of prorogation, nor the members disperse. Then, as the speaker and his clerk both refused to read the resolu-



GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

From the portrait by Cornelius Jansen, at Hampton Court.

tion, Sir John Eliot read it amid shouts of applause; and the Commons voted with enthusiasm that whoever sought to bring about innovations in religion or introduce therein any unorthodox influence, whoever advised the king to levy tonnage and poundage without a grant from the Commons, and whoever voluntarily paid tonnage and poundage, was an enemy to the kingdom and a traitor to the liberties of the English people. The dissolution of this third Parliament, eight days later, ended the first stage in the contest between crown and Parliament.

Charles now determined to rule without Parliaments, a plan impossible unless he could raise money for court and military expenses outside of parliamentary grants; for 348. Period of absolutism this reason he made use of arbitrary measures, enforced by subservient judges and by the king's Court of the Star Chamber. Even before the dissolution of Parliament, he caused the arrest of a merchant who refused to pay the tonnage and poundage tax; three days after that dissolution, Sir John Eliot, Holles, and Valentine were arrested on the charge of riot and sedition. All were fined, and Eliot was sent to indefinite imprisonment in the Tower, where he died three and a half years later. For eleven years (1629-1640) Charles ruled without a Parliament, levying arbitrary taxes, of which the most notable (besides tonnage and poundage) was "ship money," a tax for increasing the navy; in a test case raised by Hampden, the court upheld the king's right to levy it.

In all these measures Charles found a disastrous support in his two chief ministers — Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth was a man of brilliant abilities, who held that the safety of the kingdom lay in government through able and well-meaning ministers like himself, rather than through Parliaments. He had therefore joined in the attacks upon Buckingham, but declined to go with Eliot and Pym in their 349. Tyranny of Wentworth in Ireland (1633-1640)

attempt to place Parliament above the king. After the passage of the Petition of Right, he accepted a peerage from the king and was made successively President of the North and Lord Deputy for Ireland (1633).

Ireland was then in a state bordering upon revolt, due to the attempts of James and Charles to colonize the northern districts with English and Scottish settlers after an outbreak in 1610 (p. 340). Wentworth's farsighted brain and iron hand brought order out of chaos. He made the Irish Parliament less active, reformed the established church, repressed dissent, and promoted industry and trade; but he ruled absolutely without regard for the law, and (as was believed) instigated the king to defy and if necessary to coerce the English Parliament. "The safety of the state," he said, "is the highest law." The success of his system in Ireland, which he called "Thorough," brought him the title of Earl of Strafford and the position of chief adviser of the king after 1639.

William Laud was the son of a cloth merchant; through the friendship of Buckingham, he rose in a few years from

350. Tyr-
anny of
Laud over
the church
(1633-1640) a low position to the height of power as Archbishop of Canterbury (1633). He was a lover of system, and laid stress upon details rather than broad principles.

He believed that regular attendance at church and scrupulous performance of religious rites were the best means of religious training; and that the study of doctrine and the habit of criticising the governing powers were both wrong and mischievous. He therefore set himself rigidly to enforce the forms of religion prescribed by law upon every citizen, although these represented the ideas of only a portion of the English people, thus imitating Wentworth's policy of "Thorough."

(1) Although the strong conservative party in the church was suspicious of the least tendency toward Catholicism, Laud enforced the ritual in its most elaborate form upon all clergymen. (2) Although Protestant dissenters were becoming

numerous and more radical, he suspended and deprived of their livings all clergymen who leaned toward Presbyterianism. (3) He forbade Englishmen traveling abroad to attend Calvinistic services, lest they should bring seeds of heresy into England. (4) He sought to check the spread of dissent by prohibiting "gospel preaching," i.e. the discussion in the pulpit of disputed doctrines. (5) He gave color to the rumor that he was planning a return to Catholicism, by forbidding the marriage of the clergy, and by urging the common people to make confession regularly to their pastors. (6) He shocked the Puritans by issuing the so-called *Book of Sports*, which authorized such amusements as archery and dancing for Sunday afternoon. When a Puritan lawyer named Prynne, in 1634, published an attack upon theater-going and criticised the queen for taking part in masques, Laud caused him to be tried by the Court of the Star Chamber, and he was condemned to be pilloried and imprisoned, to be dismissed from the bar, to be deprived of his university degree, and to have his ears cropped. To escape from such tyranny, thousands of Puritans emigrated to America (§ 354).

It was the dream of both the Stuart monarchs to extend the English Church organization over Scotland, and in 1637 Laud induced Charles to order the Scottish clergymen to use ^{351. Laud's} a prayer book very much like that used in England. ^{failure in Scotland (1637)} This action immediately provoked riots in the churches; in Edinburgh one hearer hurled a Bible and another a stool at the minister, under the impression that he was saying mass. The Scottish nobles, fearing that Laud might try to recover the church lands which they had acquired at the time of the Reformation, renewed the Solemn League and Covenant (§ 306), binding themselves to "labor by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of religion exactly as it was established and provided before the innovations." They soon gathered about them the gentry from the various counties and

boroughs, together with many of the clergy, and organized four permanent committees to protect their interests and virtually to control the government.



HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

Begun by James IV. in anticipation of his marriage with Margaret Tudor.
The principal royal residence of the Scottish monarchs.

In November, 1638, one hundred and forty-four of the Scottish clergy and ninety-six representatives of the Scottish nobles and commons met the king's representative, the Marquis of Hamilton, at Glasgow. Hamilton became offended at the insubordinate attitude of the delegates, and attempted to dissolve the assembly; but it refused to be dissolved, and proceeded to depose the entire body of Scottish bishops, to abolish all forms associated with Episcopacy, and to make Presbyterianism again the official religion of the state. Nothing remained for Charles but to treat his subjects as rebels, and the Bishops' War followed.

352 Scot-
tish revolt
against
Episcopacy
(1638)

The Scottish leaders immediately raised an army, seized the king's castles in Scotland, and advanced as far as Berwick. To secure funds for the war, Charles decided to summon Parliament (April, 1640), but, as it proved intractable, it was dissolved in less than a month. The Scots, after fruitless negotiations, invaded England and made themselves masters of the counties of Northumberland and Durham. The king was besieged with petitions for a Parliament from his peers, his council, and the citizens of London. At last he yielded; bribed the Scottish army to remain inactive in return for payment of £40,000 a month; and summoned a Parliament famous in history as the Long Parliament, which was destined to deprive him of his throne and of his life.

353. Meeting of the Long Parliament
(Nov., 1640)

While the Stuart monarchs were struggling to limit the rights of Parliament, there was growing up in America a group of colonies in the government of which civil and religious liberty through representative government was to be the chief corner stone. The reign of Elizabeth had been marked by great prosperity, and at the time of James I.'s accession capitalists were turning to colonizing and trading companies as possible fields for profitable investments. Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America, was founded by settlers sent out by such a company. Plymouth, the first permanent northern colony, was founded with capital loaned by members of the same company (1620). But the Plymouth settlers had been driven from England by the severity of the laws against nonconformists (1607), and it was the religious and political tyranny of the Stuarts which later gave the great impetus to colonization. During the first year that Charles ruled without a Parliament (§ 348), a thousand Puritans emigrated to Massachusetts Bay. Before Parliament was again summoned, twenty-five thousand more had followed them to Massachusetts, and several smaller colonies had been founded in New England. Meanwhile Maryland had furnished

354. Puritan emigration to America
(1607-1640)

a refuge for both Catholic and Puritan nonconformists; and in all these colonies — even in loyalist Virginia — government by the people through their representatives was firmly established.

The first Stuart monarchs failed to realize that in England the government had for centuries derived its powers from the ^{§ 886. Sum-} consent of the governed. They therefore attempted to ^{mary} exercise in defiance of the will of Parliament all the rights and privileges which the Tudor monarchs exercised with its tacit consent. But conditions were changed: neither foreign war nor internal treason now endangered the stability of the state; no extraordinary dangers now justified the levying of benevolences or forced loans; the extraordinary courts of the Star Chamber and of High Commission were employed to punish, not the enemies of the state, but the defenders of its liberties; those who controlled the Church of England represented only a minority of its members; the king's ministers were selected for their personal charm, their social gifts, or their pliant disposition; the religious convictions of the dissenting factions became constantly more extreme and more sharply defined.

It is no wonder, then, that every Parliament summoned by James and Charles was more determined than its predecessor to restrict the king's power to a minimum. On the other hand, it is not surprising that both these monarchs strove to retain powers which they knew had been freely exercised by Henry VIII. and his children; but they failed to judge the strength of the popular feeling, although it might easily have been estimated from the boldness of parliamentary debaters and the steady emigration of Puritans to America.

TOPICS

- Suggestive topics** (1) Compare the doctrine quoted from Cowell's *Interpreter* in § 884 with the claims made by Richard II. (§ 214). (2) Were the pro-

posed Puritan reforms in the church service vital? (3) Why was it essential for Parliament to safeguard its members against arrest at the will of the monarch? (4) Whence arose the king's theoretical right to levy import duties? (5) Find examples where previous kings exercised similar rights. (6) Show that this theory did not apply to the Stuart attempts to levy tonnage and poundage. (7) Point out the analogy between *Magna Charta* and the Petition of Right. (8) Give instances where previous monarchs unwisely intrusted the government to favorites. (9) Did the end sought and obtained by Wentworth in Ireland justify the means employed? (10) What in the ceremony of coronation seems to favor the theory of the divine right of kings? (11) What was impeachment? the dissolution of Parliament? the proroguing of Parliament?

(12) The bearing of Henry VIII.'s will upon the succession to the crown after Elizabeth's death. (13) A discussion of Wentworth's theory of government. (14) Prynne's case. (15) The journey of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Madrid, to win the Infanta. (16) The history of the King James Version of the Bible. (17) Sir Walter Raleigh after 1603. (18) Milton's criticism in *Lycidas* of the English Church as it existed under Laud. (19) Laud's private life and character. (20) Imprisonment of Sir John Eliot. (21) Did Charles try to avoid signing the Petition of Right?

Search
topics

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CHAPTER XXII.

USURPATION OF POWER BY THE LONG PARLIAMENT (1640-1642)

THE members of the Long Parliament, both Lords and Commons, were agreed upon two things — that Parliament should assert its absolute control over taxation, and that the king's evil advisers, Strafford and Laud, should be stripped of their power for harm. Parliament assembled November 3, 1640, and eight days later the Commons impeached Strafford of high treason, on the ground that he had "endeavored to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government." To Strafford's defense that he had "committed no treason against the king," Pym, the leader of the prosecution, made a significant reply. In attacking England, he said, Strafford had really attacked the king, since the king was merely a representative of the nation.

356. Open-
ing of the
Long Parlia-
ment (Nov.
3, 1640)

This was a definition of treason not to be found in the law books; fearing that the Lords would refuse to convict on that charge, the Commons dropped the impeachment and substituted a bill of attainder, which required simply that a vote to "attaint" his life and property should be passed by both houses and signed by the king. The Commons passed the bill readily, the Lords with reluctance; and Charles, although he had twice given his word that Strafford should "not suffer in person, honor, or fortune," weakly signed the bill to avoid a contest with Parliament, remarking, as he did so, "The Earl of Strafford is a happier man than I am."

357. Fate
of Strafford
and Laud

Strafford was at once put to death, but Laud's fate was postponed: he was impeached on the charge of "endeavoring to subvert the laws and the religion by those laws established," but was permitted to remain in the Tower without trial for two years, while Parliament carried on its political contest with the king.

In February, 1641, a bill was passed authorizing the election of a new Parliament at least once in three years, even

358. Par- though the king should fail to summon one; and three
liamentary months later Charles agreed that the existing Parliament
reforms
(1641) should not be dissolved without its own consent. Par-

liament then began the correction of abuses. In July, 1641, it voted that the levying of ship money, and likewise the levying of tonnage and poundage, were illegal. Later it voted for the abolition of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission.

As the king assented to these measures, the political strain was now relieved, but the religious problem was becoming acute. The champions of the "Episcopal Church as by law established" were threatened by two dangers: on the one hand, the growing strength of the Presbyterians; on the other, a return of Roman Catholicism under cover of the Laudian, or "high church," movement. The latter danger seemed the greater, since it had the support of the king; and therefore, in June, 1641, the Commons passed a bill for abolishing "root and branch" all archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, prebendaries, and canons. Though rejected by the House of Lords, this bill is an evidence of the progress of Presbyterianism.

In August, 1641, Charles visited Scotland, and by making con-
cessions.
Charles's leader of the Scottish malcontents, a promise that they
attitude would remain neutral in case of war in England. The king was determined to fight, rather than to make more con-

cessions to his English Parliament. "I hope you will remember," he wrote to Parliament on the eve of his departure to Scotland, "that I have granted that the judges hereafter shall hold their places during good behavior. I have appointed the officers, not according to my right, but according to the old customis. I have established the property of the subject, as witness the free giving up, not the taking away, of the ship money. I have established by act of Parliament the property of the subject in tonnage and poundage, which never was done in any of my predecessors' times. I have granted a law for a triennial Parliament, and have given way to an act for securing of moneys advanced for the dispensing of the armies. I have given free course of justice against delinquents. I have put the laws in execution against Papists. Nay, I have given way to everything that you have asked of me."

It is undoubtedly true that Charles had submitted to more restrictions than any other recent king of England, and, if his submission had been genuine, he might have kept his throne; but he had broken his word so often, and had been detected in so many intrigues to thwart the wishes of Parliament, that no one would trust him. An army was sadly needed in Ireland, where the natives, freed from Wentworth's iron rule, were in open revolt; yet Parliament dared not trust Charles with an army, lest he should leave the Irish unchecked while he used his forces to coerce his English subjects.

In October, 1641, the nation was inflamed by the news that thirty thousand Scottish and English colonists had been massacred during a revolt in Ireland, and the Commons had to face the question whether the king should be trusted with an army to put down this rebellion. Afraid to trust him, yet fearing that the nation would condemn Parliament for inaction, Vane, Pym, Hampden, and others induced the Commons to pass the Grand Remonstrance (November 22,

360. Attitude of Parliament

361. The Grand Remonstrance (Nov., 1641)

1641), which was a public indictment of Charles, and a declaration of the future policy of Parliament. It was a highly prejudiced statement of the king's behavior, but it shows accurately what impression his acts made on the popular mind. Its two principal demands — that the king's ministers should be made responsible to Parliament, and that church matters should be referred to an assembly of divines nominated by Parliament — were promptly rejected by Charles. London, a stronghold of Presbyterianism, at once became the scene of riot, and Parliament was surrounded by a mob shouting, "No bishops! No popish laws!"

At this juncture Charles determined to strike a blow with a weapon which he had

362. The
crisis (Jan.,
1642) secured during his visit in Scotland,

namely, proofs that his enemies in England had supported the Scots in the Bishops' War. He singled out for vengeance one peer, Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the Commons, Pym, Hampden, Haslerigg, Holles, and Strode; and the attorney-general was sent to Parliament to accuse these men of treason, in that they had invited a foreign power to invade England, and had levied war upon the king. As Parliament failed to act promptly, Charles determined to make the arrests in person. On January 4, 1642, he went to the Parliament House with a force of about five hundred soldiers, and, leaving them within call, he entered the House of Commons, took his place beside the speaker's chair, and announced his purpose to arrest the five "traitors." To the suggestion that members of Parliament were privileged from



FRONTISPICE OF A LOYALIST PAMPHLET, PUBLISHED IN 1685.

arrest, he replied with truth, "Parliamentary privileges constitute no defense in cases of treason," and ordered Speaker Lenthall to point out the five members. With rare courage the speaker, at the risk of his own life, asserted the rights of Parliament in the memorable words, "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me"—a reply that was greeted with shouts of applause from all over the House. It becoming evident that the members were not present (they had taken refuge in the neighboring city of London), the king withdrew discomfited.

Six days later Charles left London, resolved to put his quarrel with Parliament to the test of arms. He sent the queen abroad to raise funds on the security of his crown jewels, and laid plans to secure a quantity of arms and ammunition collected at the time of the Bishops' War, which were now stored at Hull. The Commons tried to take away his power for harm by demanding for Parliament control over the militia and especially over the appointment of officers. Charles, of course, refused to give up this fundamental power, and Parliament passed the Ordinance of the Militia—the first bill to go into force without the king's assent. It authorized Parliament to call out the militia for its own defense, and to nominate the lords lieutenants of the counties—the local heads of the militia. In April Charles was refused admission to Hull, and a little later (June 16, 1642) he began to issue "commissions of array," which authorized his friends to raise troops for his support.

The tide now began to turn in favor of the king. The unconstitutional Ordinance of the Militia gave him the advantage of seeming to stand by the ancient law, and Parliament drove many of the friends of the established church over to his side by punishing certain persons who petitioned that Episcopal government be preserved. Thus a

sharp division of parties was brought about: "Lovers of Episcopacy and of the prayer-book saw their only chance of keeping these in the success of the king; men who preferred any other form of worship or of church government were equally forced to side with the government." Although the House of Lords had passed the Ordinance of the Militia under the pressure of the London mobs, yet a majority of the peers soon joined the king, feeling that the Commons were bent on overthrowing the old constitution. The landed gentry of the north and west did the same, while the citizens of the manufacturing districts in the south and east supported Parliament, having the technical advantage of controlling the seat and the machinery of government.

The proceedings of the Long Parliament were revolutionary from first to last. It distorted the plain meaning of the statute concerning treason in order to crush Strafford; it imprisoned Laud for acts wholly within his authority; it changed the system of dissolving and summoning Parliaments; it attempted to abolish Episcopacy in the state church; and, failing in this, it attempted to control religious matters without reference to king or Convocation. It demanded control of the militia and the appointment of county officers. It finally assumed the right to legislate independently, thus stripping the king of all authority.

Some of these acts were as unconstitutional as any of Charles's, since all legislation required the joint action of king and Parliament; but the constitution provided no solution for the problem that now confronted the English nation: "In case of a deadlock between king and Parliament, which should yield?" Charles lost his throne because he failed to see that this was not a theoretical but a practical question, which admitted of but one answer. If somebody had to give way, it would be one man rather than five hundred.

TOPICS

(1) Would Pym's definition of "treason" be more valid in modern England? (2) Why were the Lords willing to pass a bill of attainder against Strafford, when they would not convict him on impeachment? (3) How would the Root and Branch Bill affect the strength of the reform party in the House of Lords? (4) What reply could Parliament make to Charles's professions in § 359? (5) What plans already formed encouraged Charles to reject the Grand Remonstrance? (6) Compare the alleged treason of Strafford with that of "the five members." (7) Discuss Charles's procedure in the case of the five members. (8) Was it wise for Charles to leave London when he did? (9) What geographical conditions made the possession of Hull important to each party? (10) Earlier cases of assertion of authority by Parliament over the king.

Suggestive topics

(11) Compare punishment by impeachment with punishment by attainder. (12) The part played by Charles's queen, Henrietta Maria, in his contest with Parliament. (13) Compare an ordinary court with the Court of the Star Chamber, as regards the source of its authority, the character of the judges, and the fairness of procedure. (14) Some typical trials in the Star Chamber Court. (15) A study of the Roundheads and the Cavaliers in the Civil War. (16) Character of Pym. (17) Was Charles I. truthful in his dealings with Parliament? (18) Had the king power himself to arrest persons accused of treason? (19) Contemporary accounts of the attempted arrest of the five members.

Search topics

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CONTEST OF FIRST STUARTS AND PARLIAMENT

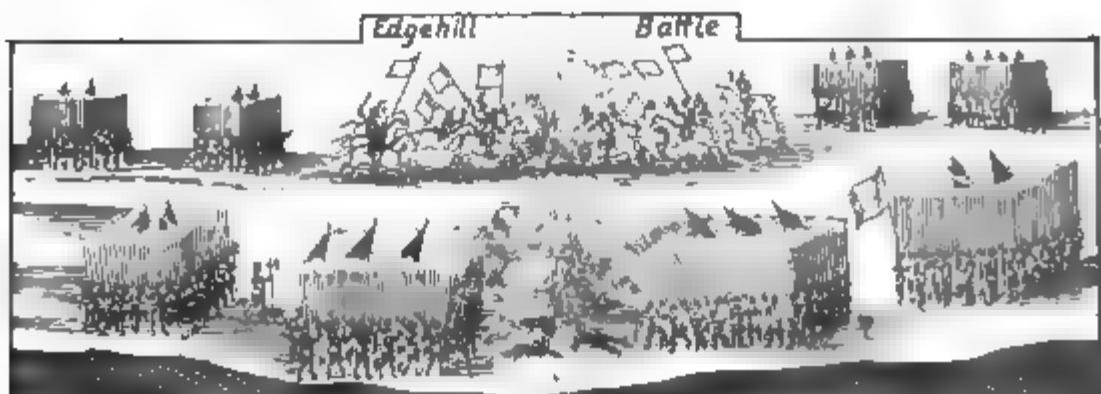
Parliament claims jurisdiction over elections to Parliament	1604
Courts assert king's authority to regulate customs duties	1608
Commons protests against increased customs duties	1610
James I. governs practically without a Parliament	1610-1621
Commons impeaches king's officers (Chancellor, Treasurer) .	1621, 1624
Parliament abolishes monopolies	1624
Commons refuses supplies	1625
King raises money by forced loans and illegal taxation . .	1625-1627
Commons impeaches the king's favorite; leaders imprisoned .	1628
Commons refuses to act while members are imprisoned . . .	1628
Petition of Right ratified by the king	1628
King violates Petition of Right by forced loans	1628
Commons, protesting, is dissolved; king rules without Parliament	1629-1640
Commons dictates its own duration; abolishes Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission	1641
Commons passes Grand Remonstrance; king attacks liberty of debate; Commons takes control of militia and royal castles . .	1642

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GREAT REBELLION (1642-1649)

AT the outbreak of the Civil War, the wealthy and populous districts in the south and east of England were on the whole friendly to Parliament, and the rural districts of the north and west were loyal to the king. One body of his forces was in Cornwall, another in York; between these two regions lay a line of important towns, Northampton,

386. Military situation (1642)



CAVALRY AND PIKEMEN AT THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL, 1642.

From a broadside published after the Restoration.

Coventry, Warwick, and Worcester, which had been seized and garrisoned with parliamentary troops by Essex, commander in chief of the parliamentary forces. On August 22, 1642, the king practically declared war by raising the royal standard at Nottingham. With the forces which quickly came in, he moved westward to Shrewsbury, so as to raise the Catholic gentry of western England and to secure the important Severn valley. Then he undertook to capture London and Westminster, the commercial and political centers of the kingdom,



ENGLAND IN THE CIVIL WAR.

The names within the circle suggest the importance of Oxford as a strategic center.

and pressed southeastward across mid-England, ignoring Essex and the parliamentary army at Worcester.

In order to save London, Essex followed close upon the king's heels, and forced his army to turn and fight the opening skirmish of the war on the slope of Edgehill (1642-1643) (October 23, 1642). Essex, however, was repulsed, and

Charles advanced to the outskirts of London; but instead of attacking the city, he remained inactive for a day (as if afraid of the forces which hastily rallied to the defense of London), and then retired unmolested to Oxford, thenceforth the center of his military operations. He thus gained the advantage of a central position from which to strike unexpected blows in any direction, but lost all control of the sea and its opportunities for quick transit, and for coöperation from without the kingdom.

During the summer months of 1643, Charles's nephew, Prince Rupert, led a series of brilliant cavalry maneuvers from Oxford, and won minor victories for the king. The dashing "Cavaliers" learned to scorn the ill-trained parliamentary armies filled with psalm-singing Puritans, whom, from the close-cropped hair, they nicknamed "Roundheads." At Shelton, at Bath, at Devizes, and at Bristol, parliamentary armies met disasters. John Hampden, worth more than many regiments, was mortally wounded in a skirmish with Rupert's cavalry at Chalgrove, near Oxford (June 18). At the end of twelve months, Parliament retained of important points in the north only the fortress of Hull; in the west, only Gloucester. The sieges of those two places failed, however, and the star of Charles began to wane. Not only did his forces win no further important successes, but the Scots were now enlisted on the side of Parliament, and the organization of an Association of the Eastern Counties (Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Huntingdon), under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, gave stability and strength to the parliamentary cause.



A CAVALIER DANDY.

From a seventeenth century etching.

September 25, 1643, Pym induced Parliament to make an alliance with the Scots, so that after February, 1644, the

368. The Scottish alliance and its fruit (1643) conduct of the war was under the control of a Committee of Both Kingdoms. Parliament secured this alliance only by ratifying the Solemn League and Covenant, which was signed by the twenty-five peers who still remained at Westminster, and by two hundred and eighty-eight commoners. By this Covenant Parliament bound itself to "make religion as uniform as possible in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to reform the Church according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches." All civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers in the kingdom were required to accept the Covenant; and the expulsion of some two thousand clergymen who refused to take the oath left the state church entirely in the hands of Presbyterians.

The Scottish alliance and Pym's death, in December, 1643, mark a turning point in the history of the Long Parliament.

369. Rise of the Independents Henceforth the strife was to be between the victorious Presbyterians and the Independents, a body of religious radicals already numerous in the army. The Independents believed that churches should be voluntary associations for divine worship, each independent of all control by the state, or by any authority outside of its own membership. Between this party and the triumphant Presbyterians a clash was certain to arise, and hence the Scottish alliance tended to discord and weakness, rather than to strength. This was the more unfortunate because, of those prominent in Parliament—Essex, Kimbolton (now Earl of Manchester), Holles, Vane, Waller, and Cromwell,—no one was as yet strong enough to take Pym's place as leader.

Early in 1644 the Scots advanced into England with 22,000 men, threatening to entrap the royal forces under the Duke of Newcastle between their own army and that of Fairfax, the parliamentary general. Newcastle fell back

on York as a defensive center, and Prince Rupert hastened thither from Lancashire with 18,000 men, while Generals Manchester and Cromwell moved to the support of Fairfax with a body of troops from the Eastern Association. The two forces met on the field of Marston Moor, seven miles west of York (July 2, 1644).

In this decisive contest the royalist cavalry at first appeared to have the advantage, dispersing the Scots stationed on the parliamentary left wing; and when the royal infantry charged and routed the right wing also, the battle seemed won for the king. Still the troops under Cromwell remained unbroken, amid all the confusion and apparent disaster; at the decisive moment they attacked the flank of the victorious royal infantry, and threw it into utter disorder. "The Left Wing, which I comanded," wrote Cromwell, "being our own horse, . . . beat all the Prince's horse; God made them as stubble to our swords." "We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. . . . I believe, of twenty thousand the Prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God." On Rupert's withdrawal with the remnant of his army, the entire north, including the important cities of York and Newcastle, passed under the control of Parliament. This victory more than balanced the losses in the south, where Essex was penned between the army in Cornwall and that of the king, and lost most of his army at Lostwithiel in September, 1644.

The battle of Marston Moor altered the balance of power in Parliament. Thus far the Presbyterians had had the advantage, because they were the bond between the parliamentary cause and the Scots; but they lacked the courage of their convictions. They shrank from personal violence to the king, and clung to the fiction that his mistakes were due, not to his own unfitness to rule, but to evil advisers. Their hope was to prolong the war by inaction until the king should

371. Weakness of the parliamentary army

come to his senses; they therefore dreaded being too successful, and their officers fought with little or no zeal in any contest where the king was known to be present. For example, when Charles was returning to Oxford, after his successful campaign against Essex, he was intercepted by Manchester at Newbury; but Manchester threw away a possible victory by sheer negligence.

The Independents therefore determined upon decisive action.

In January, 1645, Laud was taken from the Tower and be-

**372. Reor-
ganization
of the army
(1645)** headed. In April, at the instigation of Cromwell, Parliament passed the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which no member of either house could retain his military command — a painless method for ridding the army of many dilatory and inefficient officers. Essex, Manchester, and Waller were thus disposed of; but by a special vote Cromwell was reappointed and placed in command of the cavalry forces, with the title of lieutenant general, while Fairfax was made commander in chief. Cromwell proceeded at once to remodel the army, getting rid of weak commanders, and breaking up many of the regiments composed of penniless adventurers and riffraff, who followed the war as a profession and not as a "vocation from God." These troops he replaced with God-fearing men who were convinced of the necessity of ridding the kingdom of a "godless" king, court, and church.

The New Model army, as it was termed, was now called upon to bear the burden of the entire war; for the Earl of

**373. The
Battle of
Naseby
(June 14,
1645)** Montrose created a diversion in Scotland in behalf of the king by harassing the Highlands and threatening the Lowlands, and thus drew back the forces of the Scots for the defense of their own territory. Charles moved northward from Oxford to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, and Cromwell and Fairfax hastened in pursuit, overtaking the king at Naseby, June 14, 1645. The New Model was hardly seasoned yet, and the cavalry on its left wing was

routed and pursued to a great distance by Rupert's invincible troopers. On the opposite flank, Cromwell, with an equally invincible body, routed the royal cavalry; but instead of pursuing, as Rupert had done, he turned his troops against the king's infantry, who were successfully forcing the parliamentary center. Cromwell's charge decided the day. The king's infantry surrendered, and Rupert, returning too late, was only able to guard the retreat of the king.

The battle of Naseby completed the ruin of Charles. In the first place, his sole important army was destroyed. Montrose's Highlanders retired to their mountain fastnesses, and though lesser divisions of the king's troops held the field for several months, no important successes were achieved. One by one, these bands were defeated and dispersed, and the isolated castles held by the royalists were besieged and captured, the last to surrender being the castle of Raglan on the border of Wales (August, 1646). In the second place, the finding of Charles's private papers after the battle ultimately cost him his life; for they contained letters showing that he had carried on negotiations with the purpose of bringing foreign troops against his English subjects, from France, from Lorraine, and from Ireland; and these were later used as grounds for his conviction and execution.

The Civil War proper ended in June, 1645. Then followed a year of sparring for advantage between Charles, the Parliament, and the army, now filled with Independents. The king's constant hope was to provoke a quarrel between Charles and his two antagonists. By favoring Presbyterianism he also hoped to conciliate the Scots, and to rouse their instinct of loyalty to the Stuarts. In May, 1646, therefore, he left Oxford for Newark, where the Scots were encamped, and threw himself upon their generosity. They shrewdly conducted their "hostage" northward to Newcastle, where he would be safe from seizure by the troops of the New Model.

374. Close
of the first
civil war
(1646)

375.
Charles and
the Scots

Negotiations with Parliament were at once begun, but led to nothing, for the king desired only to procrastinate. "All my endeavors," he wrote to the queen, "must be the delaying of my answer until there be considerable parties visibly formed." After six months the Scots became convinced that they would receive no subsidy from the English so long as they retained possession of Charles, and that Charles would give no satisfactory guarantee for the maintenance of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Therefore, on condition of the payment of the £400,000 due to them for the support of their army, they surrendered Charles to the representatives of Parliament (January 30, 1647).

At first Charles was imprisoned at Holmby House, and was treated with great consideration, pending a decision as to his

**376. Usur-
pation of
control by
the army
(1647)**

future by Parliament and the army. The breach between parties for which Charles had hoped soon made itself apparent, but had an outcome directly opposite to his wishes. Parliament decided to disband the army, and then to negotiate freely for an adjustment of the relations of monarch and people. The army, however, refused to be disbanded until the soldiers were paid, and until it received from Parliament some guarantee of toleration for Independent congregations. To rid itself of this unruly servant, Parliament hastened to offer extremely liberal terms to the king.

The indignant army saw that all its labors, its bloodshed, its sacrifice, would be in vain if the king were restored to power under such conditions. June 3, 1647, Cornet Joyce went with a squad of soldiers to Holmby House, and removed Charles from the control of Parliament to that of the army at Newmarket. A week later, a demand was made that the eleven Presbyterian leaders responsible for the recent proposals should be expelled from the House. London was still distinctly Presbyterian in temper, and a mob gathered to impress upon the Presbyterians in Parliament the necessity of remain-

ing firm; so the army took forcible possession of London (October, 1647).

While the army and the Parliament were discussing the terms to be offered to the king, Charles saw that the two parties were likely to come to an agreement. He therefore seized an opportunity to escape from Newmarket, and took refuge in Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight.^{877. The king's perfidy} He then issued fresh proposals, agreeing to accept Presbyterianism as the state religion, with moderate toleration for



CARISBROOKE CASTLE, ISLE OF WIGHT

Tower erected by Anthony Woodville, time of Edward IV. Gateway erected by Elizabeth, 1598.

dissenters. Apparently peace was in sight, but Charles was really intriguing with the Scots, and soon secured their support by a secret agreement to maintain the Presbyterian religion exclusively in England for three years. This act of perfidy showed conclusively to Cromwell and the army that Charles absolutely would not keep his word, and that further negotiation with him would be utterly useless.

The immediate result was a four months' war between Scotland and England. In April, 1648, the Duke of Hamilton invaded England with a Scottish force, and Charles flattered himself that his hour of triumph was near; but the parliamentary army grimly set itself to the task, first of crushing out this new enemy, and then of rendering Charles incapable of further breaches of faith to his subjects.

The advance of the Scots led to royalist insurrections in Wales, in Kent, and in Essex. The last was the most serious, and Fairfax found himself obliged to settle down to a month's siege of Colchester. Meanwhile Cromwell stamped out the insurrection in Wales in July, and moved north to meet the forces of the Scots. Nine thousand troops of the New Model ranged themselves against the twenty four thousand of Hamilton's force near Preston, August 17, 1648. A three days' fight ended in the complete destruction of the Scottish army, and put an end to the war.

During these few months, Parliament, freed from the immediate pressure of the Independents in the army, fell once more under the control of the Presbyterian party, and now made fresh overtures to the king. Charles, who still hoped to receive help from Ireland or from Holland, (Dec., 1648) gladly took up the negotiations in order to gain time, although he had no intention of keeping any agreement that he might make. But the army had already resolved to call "Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he had shed, and the mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people." The army leaders therefore caused him to be seized at Carisbrooke Castle, and kept under their own control at Hurst Castle.

The Commons resented this action, and (December 5) resolved that "reconciliation should be sought with the king." The army next day replied to this defiance by Pride's Purge, when Cromwell sent Colonel Pride with a body of soldiers to

“purge” the Commons of its objectionable element by expelling from the House one hundred and forty-three members of the conciliatory party. Only about fifty-three members, all sympathizers with the army, were left in the House, and these the royalists straightway nicknamed the Rump Parliament.

A
VINDICATION
O F
K I N G C H A R L E S:
O R.
A L O Y A L S u b j e c t s D u t y.

M A N I F E S T E D
In Vindicating his Soveraigne from those
Aspersions cast upon Him by certaine persons,
in a scandalous Libel, Entituled,

The Kings Cabinet Opened:

And published (as they say) by Authority of Parliament.

Whereunto is added,

*A true Parallel betwixt the sufferings of
our Saviour and our Sovereign, in divers particulars, &c.*

PART OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF A LOYALIST PAMPHLET, 1648.

Ten days later, the Rump passed a resolution that the king should be brought to justice; and as no legal agency existed for the prosecution or punishment of the king, it was voted (January 1, 1649) to form a special “High Court of Justice,” an action in which the Lords refused to concur. Three days later the Rump attempted to justify and legalize its action by declaring that “the people are under God the source of all just power, and the Commons, being chosen

330. Abolition of the
monarchy
(Jan. 1, 1649)

by the people, form the supreme power in England and have no need of king or House of Lords."

Having thus removed the opposition of the upper house by abolishing it, the Rump, on its own authority, created a High

381. Trial and execution of Charles I. (Jan., 1649) Court of Justice, of one hundred and thirty-five members. On January 20, the king was taken to his palace of Whitehall in London for trial. At the opening of the court only sixty-seven of the judges were present, and the later meetings were even more poorly attended.



FRONT OF THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL PALACE.
Charles I. passed out through a second-story window to the scaffold.

The king, "not only protesting against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also, that no earthly power can call me (who am your king) in question as a delinquent," refused to make any plea. "It is not my case alone," he said; "it is the freedom and liberty of the people of England; . . . for if power without law may make laws, may alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his own life, or of anything he calls his own." After a week's deliberation, he was declared guilty of having "traitorously and maliciously levied war

against the present Parliament . . . by which much innocent blood of the free people of the nation hath been spilt"; and was condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was carried into effect three days later (January 30, 1649).

The Great Rebellion (1642-1648) covers two stages. During the first of these, Parliament, dominated by Presbyterians and aided by the Scots, strove to secure from the king guarantees of good government that would justify it in restoring him to power. During the second period, the army, dominated by Independents, tried to make bad government by the king impossible; but it was for a long time baffled by the lukewarm attitude of the Presbyterians and the Scots. At first the combatants fought simply for advantage of position, with blunted swords, as it were; after the battle of Marston Moor, they were fighting to the death. Naturally, the party that had the advantage in numbers, wealth, command of the sea, concentration, and definiteness of purpose, proved victorious. Its victory created a dilemma: to kill the king was to violate all traditions and shock all sensibilities; to leave him alive was to expose the government to a succession of intrigues and revolts. The former alternative was chosen, and Charles the tyrant became Charles the martyr.

TOPICS

- (1) Why did the towns favor Parliament, and the rural districts favor the king? (2) Explain on a map the strategic value of Oxford. (3) What did the Scotch hope to gain by allying themselves with Parliament? (4) What offshoots of the English Independents exist in the United States? (5) Did the king commit treason? (6) Discuss the objections to the treatment of Charles by the Scots. (7) Why did the Scots first surrender Charles, and then go to war in his favor? (8) Was any action of Parliament recounted in this chapter legal? (9) What powers properly belonging to the monarch did Parliament exercise between 1625 and 1649? (10) What do Charles's words in refusing to plead indicate?

Suggestive topics

Search
topics

- (11) A character sketch of Prince Rupert. (12) Macaulay's poem on the battle of Naseby. (13) Organization of the Army of the New Model. (14) The story of Charles's trial and execution. (15) Some Cavalier songs. (16) The Ironsides. (17) Treatment of captured royalists. (18) Capture of the king's papers after Naseby. (19) Why did not Charles escape to France? (20) Queen Henrietta Maria in the war.

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works

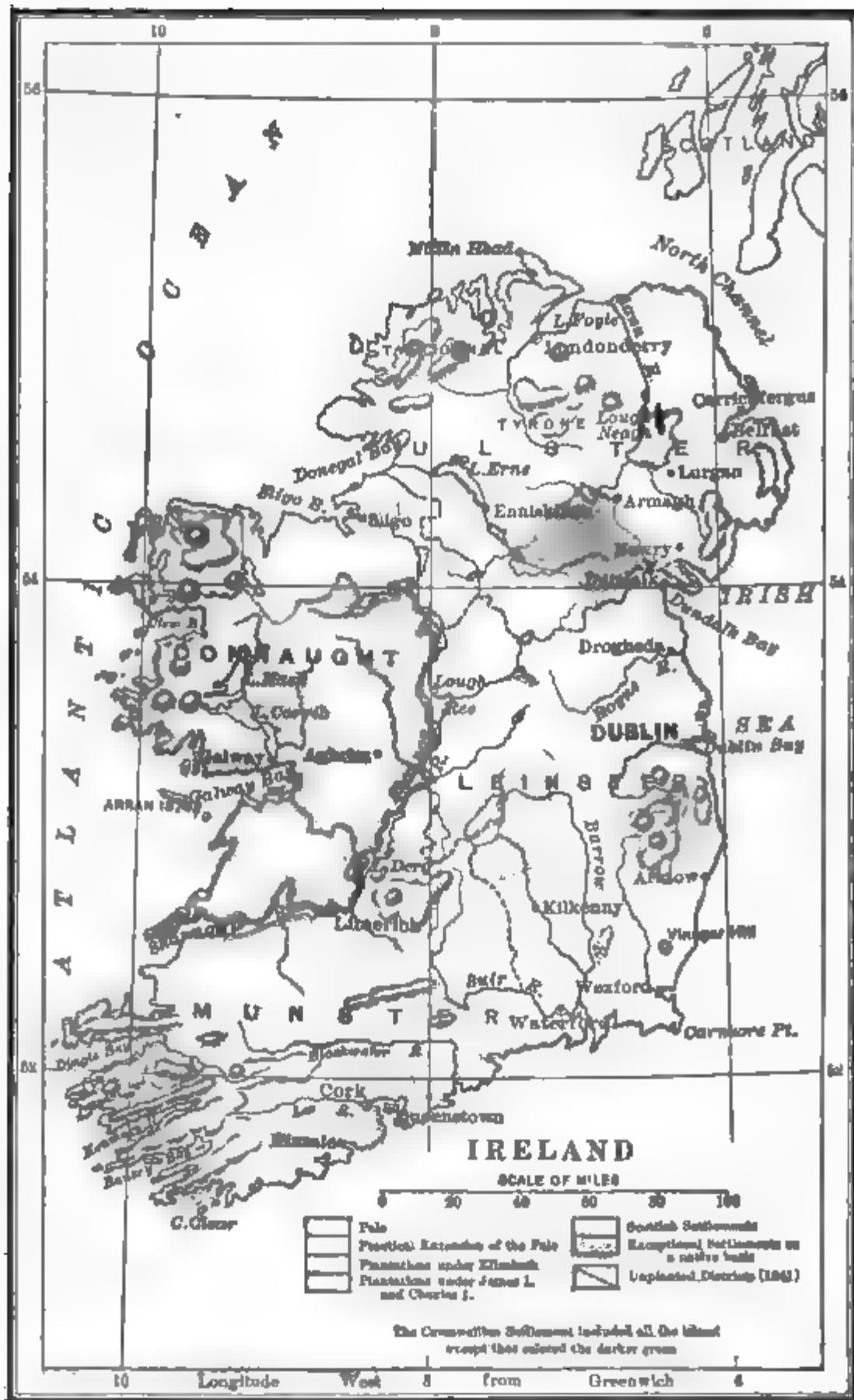
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CHAPTER XXIV.

CROMWELL AND THE COMMONWEALTH (1649-1660)

THE bold men who dared to put the king to death and to abolish the House of Lords immediately encountered grave dangers, both from the army and from the king's friends. Independency fostered the development of groups of extremists,—Anabaptists, “Fifth Monarchy Men” (followers of “King Jesus”), and “Levellers,”—who were determined to reconstruct English politics on the model of the ancient Hebrew state described in the Old Testament, or upon that of some ideal state foretold in the visions of the Hebrew prophets. Certain fanatics early started a mutiny in the army, but were promptly checked by Cromwell.

Parliament had neglected Ireland while the war was raging in England, and it was now found that the royalists were winning nearly all the island to their cause. Thither Cromwell hastened, angry at the continuance of a useless struggle. Drogheda, refusing to surrender, was taken by storm, and its garrison of two thousand were put to death. Cromwell defended his severity by declaring, “Truly, I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood”; but a second massacre of the same kind took place at Wexford before the royalists of Ireland were convinced that the new government was too strong to be resisted. Even then, the Irish proved slow of subjugation, and not until 1652, when three out of four of their provinces had been confiscated, was resistance wholly stamped out by Cromwell's son-in-law, Ireton.



In these confiscated provinces, Ireton carried out the so-called Cromwellian settlement of Ireland. Much of the land was given to the veterans of the war, much was given to "undertakers," who transported colonists thither from England and Scotland. Catholicism was sternly suppressed, and the Irish who refused to give up their religion were driven into the wilds of Connaught, there to start life anew.



EDINBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE UPPER LEVEL.

After the execution of Charles I., the Scots proclaimed his eldest son, Prince Charles, king of Scotland, but he was not to be allowed to rule until he should take the Covenant and swear to protect the Presbyterian religion. In June, 1650, Charles landed in Scotland and signed the Covenant, much to the disturbance of the English Parliament. Fairfax declared that Scotland had a right to choose its own king, but Cromwell urged that England must defend herself from so dangerous a neighbor. Thinking action better than argument, he hurried into Scotland and reached Edinburgh on July 28. The city was too strong to be taken by assault, and

365 Crom-
well in
Scotland
(July-Dec.,
1650)

the English army, being so short of supplies as to be in almost a starving condition, had to retire southward a month later. It reached Dunbar only to find its retreat into England barred by Scottish forces, but Cromwell took advantage of a tactical error of the Scottish commanders, and by a spirited charge destroyed the entire Scottish army (September 3, 1650). He was then free to renew the attack on Edinburgh, which was captured in December; but Charles was nevertheless crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651.

During the following summer Prince Charles invaded England by the route west of the Pennine Chain. He hoped to **306 Over-** rally to his support the royalists of the western counties, **throw of** and perhaps produce a rising in his favor in Northumberland and York which should hold Cromwell in check **Prince Charles (Sept., 1651)** while he gained possession of London. Cromwell hurried southward, intercepted Charles's army near Worcester, and totally defeated it (September 3, 1651), just one year after the

battle of Dunbar. Charles fled in the disguise of a servant to Bristol and thence to Brighton, where he obtained passage to France. At one time he escaped capture only by hiding in an oak tree, and oak branches became thereafter symbols of loyalty to the Stuarts.



LOYALIST MEDAL OF 1651, SHOWING THE
ROYAL OAK.

"God did presarve C[arolum] R[egem]
from Woaster."

Scotland was soon reduced to submission by General Monk.

During these military operations, the executive authority in **307. First** England was vested in a Council of State, composed of **government under the Commonwealth** forty-one leading officers of the army and other officials. The legislature consisted simply of about fifty members of the Rump Parliament. Their problem was to carry

on a government based on usurpation, and supported by an army of enthusiasts and fanatics; a government threatened by foes at home and abroad, and accepted with reluctance by a large majority of the nation. The royalists published the *Eikon Basilike*, a book pretending to be the late king's description of his sufferings during his imprisonment; and foreign writers like Salmasius of Leyden bitterly denounced the English for murdering their king. Parliament employed the learned and high-minded John Milton to compose suitable replies to these works; and this led to his employment as foreign secretary through the whole of this period. Had there been many of his stamp among the Puritans, England would have been spared a tyranny; but the members of the Rump were determined to keep absolute control in their own hands, and unfortunately these hands proved to be neither clean nor skillful.

During England's long period of civil strife, the Dutch, now free from Spain, were absorbing the carrying trade between foreign countries and England. In 1651 Parliament enacted a navigation act designed to restrict this trade to English vessels, and this led to a long and fiercely fought naval war between England and Holland. Cromwell appealed to English pride by reviving the old English claim to supremacy in the narrow seas; but Holland refused to salute her rival's flag. During 1652 and 1653 the English under Blake and Monk won five notable victories, and the Dutch under Van Tromp and De Ruyter won but one. The Dutch therefore negotiated for peace in April, 1654, and accepted both the navigation act and the claim of supremacy in the Channel. To meet the large expenses of the war, Parliament confiscated the estates of all royalists within the kingdom; but the rich royalists bribed the officials and kept their lands, while those less well-to-do lost all their property.

Disgusted with the lack of honor in the Rump Parliament, Cromwell and a few other patriots started a movement to

secure a really representative Parliament. To forestall their action, the members of the Rump hastily framed a bill for
389. Expul- the election of a new Parliament in which they should
sion of the all have seats. April 20, 1653, as this measure was about
Rump
(1653) to be put to vote, Cromwell arose in the Commons and charged the members with injustice and selfishness; when the



OLIVER CROMWELL.

From a contemporary allegorical engraving by William Faithorne.

speech was interrupted he cried out, "Come, come, we have had enough of this. I will put an end to this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." At his signal a body of soldiers cleared the house, while Cromwell took possession of "that bauble" the speaker's mace, and locked the doors of

the house. Thus the last representative of the old constitutional authority was swept away; for a second time, the army had overawed the legislature.

Cromwell and the council of officers now created a so-called Parliament of one hundred and fifty members, nominated on the ground of their high moral character and their enthusiasm for Puritan principles. This body was to serve as a legislature until the nation was in a fit temper of mind to elect a more satisfactory Parliament! The members, who had little knowledge of affairs or practical political skill, were largely under the influence of a religious enthusiast named Praise-God Barebone, whence the assembly received the name of Barebone's Parliament. Under the leadership of this fanatic, the new legislators set out to reform the government by abolishing certain departments and offices in which abuses had grown up; but they provided no other means of getting the work done. From such unpractical zeal the wiser members turned for relief once more to Cromwell's sane and sober common sense. So in December, 1653, they met early one morning and voted to resign the powers of Parliament into the hands of Cromwell.

390. Failure of the Commonwealth

It was now determined to cast aside old traditions and create a new, written constitution, adapted to present conditions. The officers of the army therefore drew up an "Instrument of Government," by which England, Scotland, and Ireland were to be ruled as one nation. Cromwell was made executive head of the state, with the title (Dec., 1653) of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England," and was given a Council of State of fifteen members. There was to be a Parliament of a single house, consisting of five hundred members roughly apportioned according to population, and limited by a property qualification. This Parliament was to have control over supplies, taxation, and legislation; but a fixed sum was appropriated for the ordinary expenses of the

391. Establishment of the Protectorate

government, so that Parliament could never paralyze the government by withholding supplies, and the Protector and Council were empowered to make ordinances which were to be valid until Parliament rejected them. This was among the first written constitutions of modern times.

As the first Parliament under the Instrument did not meet until September, 1654, Cromwell enjoyed absolute power as **392 Failure of the Instrument of Government** Lord Protector during a period of nine months. During this period he brought the war with the Dutch to an end upon favorable terms, and made some necessary reforms; but the new Parliament proved no better and fared no better than its predecessors. With scrupulous regard for "the letter of the law," it raised the question whether the Instrument of Government (the document to which it owed its own existence) was legal; and then, with amusing lack of logic, it proposed to enact another constitution on its own authority. At the earliest moment allowed by law, this Parliament, too, was dissolved by Cromwell, in January, 1655.

While the Instrument of Government was thus proving a failure, a reaction in favor of a monarchy made itself felt throughout the country. Alarmed by a royalist outbreak **393. Government by major generals (Aug., 1655-Oct., 1656)** in Salisbury which had to be put down by military force, Cromwell turned to the army as the one means of government which he could both trust and control. He organized the state on a military basis, and divided the entire territory into ten districts, with a major general in command of each. Since royalist conspiracies had led to this action, the major generals were authorized to secure funds for the support of their governments by laying a tax of ten per cent upon the incomes of all royalists. In districts that remained quiet the government relaxed its strictness, but meetings for political and religious discussion were sternly suppressed.

Cromwell was far in advance of his time in his tolerant attitude toward divergent religious beliefs. His plan was "to let

all this nation see that whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves ; " but they were " not to make religion a pretense for arms and blood." Even the Jews, who had been excluded from England since 1290, were allowed by Cromwell to settle in London, although in violation of the law.

*Cromwell,
Speech,*

Sept. 17, 1656

During the year that England remained under military control, Cromwell made war upon Spain to assert his hostility to Roman Catholicism, and to dispute the power of Spain in America. Admirals Penn and Venables were sent to the West Indies, where they captured the important island of Jamaica (1655). Admiral Blake was sent against the pirates from Tunis and Algiers, who had taken advantage of England's troubles to raid her merchants' fleets in the Mediterranean. He burned the pirate fleet at Tunis, and forced the dey of Algiers to make terms with England. Then, on his return from Algiers, Blake fell in with the Spanish treasure fleet from America (April, 1657), and captured vessels containing £1,000,000 worth of silver.

The protector's energetic rule raised England in the respect of European nations to a pitch which she had never reached since the age of Elizabeth. Cromwell's friendship was much desired by Mazarin, the chief minister of France, and as the price of an alliance Cromwell forced France to secure toleration for the persecuted Vaudois Protestants in the Alpine valleys. France and England then attacked Spain, and Dunkirk was conquered and handed over to England (1658).

Meanwhile Cromwell had once more tried the experiment of assembling a Parliament (1656); this proved more reasonable than the previous one, and the military organization under the major generals was discontinued. Cromwell's enemies were making frequent attempts against his life, and roused the fear that, should he die, England would be a

394. Crom-
well's for-
eign policy
(1655-1658)

395. Drift
toward a
monarchy

prey to anarchy. In 1657 the discovery of a dangerous plot against Cromwell's life led Parliament to present to him the "Solemn Petition and Advice" regarding reforms which would give greater stability to the government. It was proposed to create a body of Lords by raising Oliver's chief supporters to the peerage, to convert the Council of State into a kind of Privy Council, and to make Cromwell king, with the power of naming his successor. Cromwell, perceiving clearly that the rank and file of the army were unfavorable to a monarchy, refused the title of king; but a second written constitution, otherwise framed in general accordance with the Petition and Advice, went into operation in June, 1657.

This government lasted only two weeks after the assembling of the new Parliament (January, 1658); for when the new House of Commons had spent those two weeks in wrangling over the rights of the new House of Lords, Cromwell decided for the third time to dissolve Parliament, and to rule alone. This he did with great reluctance, dismissing the unprofitable legislators with the words, "The Lord judge between me and you."

The last hope of securing a constitutional democracy in England was clearly at an end, and the only thing that upheld

396. Death of Cromwell (Sept. 3, 1658) the Puritan state was the firm hand of Cromwell. Unfortunately that hand was already fast losing its power,

exhausted by the labors of the previous decade and by the necessity of ruling without support from the mass of the people. Conspiracies were formed to kill Cromwell, to restore the king, to create a new Commonwealth. Cromwell's health failed rapidly, and the death of his daughter in August weakened his interest in the affairs of this world. September 3, 1658, he died. A prayer which he was overheard to frame in the last week of his illness forms the best testimony to the temper and the motive which had controlled him in his public life, and to his single-minded devotion to the welfare of the

nation whose destinies he had shaped. "I may, I will, come to Thee for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service. . . . Lord, however Thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them."

*Carlyle,
Cromwell's
Letters and
Speeches,
V.*

*be a real help, & believe + good luck
my letter, & expect no help. pray for
you true friend and servant
Oliver Cromwell*

CROMWELL'S AUTOGRAPH.

Portion of a letter written Sept. 11, 1643, about pay for troops to relieve Hull, then besieged by Manchester.

On his deathbed, Cromwell nominated his son Richard to be Lord Protector of England. The few months of Richard's rule were marked by inefficiency and weakness which made him a mere tool in the hands of schemers. The army became restive at seeing the control pass out of the hands of a great soldier into those of a weak civilian, and its leaders demanded that the appointment of army officers should be intrusted to the army itself. When Parliament rejected this proposal, the army first dissolved Parliament, and later reassembled the Rump, the members of which could, at least, be trusted not to question their own authority to act for the nation. Forty-two of these were then in London, and under the protection of the army they resumed their long-interrupted sessions (May 7, 1659), with their original speaker, Lenthall, in the chair. Two weeks later, Richard Cromwell abdicated, and the Protectorate came to an end.

Assuming to be, since the death of the king, the one representative body which had been elected under constitutional authority, the Rump demanded of the army unquestioning

397. Col-
lapse of the
Protec-
torate
(May, 1659)

obedience to its orders, declared all ordinances passed since its own dissolution to have been illegal, and in its zeal for con-
398. Rule of the Restored Rump stitutionality actually proceeded to collect a second time, as arrears of taxes, all sums which had been paid to Cromwell's government. For the fifth and last time the disappointed army appealed to force and dispersed Parliament (October 13); but the army had no longer that unity which gives strength. A royalist insurrection was crushed only with some difficulty; mutinies broke out at Portsmouth; the army leaders were jealous and scheming for selfish ends; and in December, 1659, the Rump was again restored to power.

The time was now ripe for some strong, far-sighted leader to assume the direction of affairs, and this leader appeared in
399. End of the Long Parliament (Mar. 16, 1660) the person of General Monk, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Monk first summoned a Scottish assembly and procured a grant of money by which to insure the obedience of his soldiers. He then advanced

into England, was joined by Fairfax, the representative of the party of order in England, and on February 3 entered London, where the citizens were clamoring for a "free Parliament."

When Monk decided to take up their cause, their joy was

Diary of Samuel Pepys, 1659-1660 unbounded. "In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing . . . and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps; there being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down."

On February 26, 1660, those Presbyterians who had been excluded by Pride's Purge claimed their seats in Parliament, and as they outnumbered the forty-two members of the Rump now remaining, they were able to carry a vote to dissolve the existing Parliament and elect a new "Convention Parliament" immediately. Thus the Long Parliament, assembled by Charles I. (November 3, 1640), came to an end by its own act (March 16, 1660).

While the outcome of these events was still doubtful, the exiled Charles Stuart issued a conciliatory Declaration of Breda (April 14, 1660), in which, on condition that he should be restored to the throne of his father, he offered to grant a general pardon to those engaged in the late rebellion, except such as Parliament should by vote exempt from pardon; he pledged that all property confiscated during the recent troubles should be secured to its present holders; and he guaranteed religious toleration to all persons who would refrain from disturbing the public peace. On the day that this declaration was received (May 8) the Convention Parliament voted the restoration of government by king, Lords, and Commons, with Charles Stuart as sovereign. On May 25, 1660, Charles II. landed at Dover amid the greatest enthusiasm. "The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagining," says one of those active in the Restoration. On the 29th the army which had ruled England for a decade was reviewed and disbanded, and the Parliaments of England and Scotland set about readjusting the affairs of the two kingdoms.

400. Restoration of the Stuart line (May, 1660)

Pepys, Diary.

May 25, 1660

The period from 1603 to 1660, with its intense factional strife, was unfavorable to the production of a noble literature or a refined art. For a time, only the pettier passions found expression. The romantic impulse of the Elizabethan Age was not quite dead; but it found expression only in affected sentiment such as the gory and hysterical tragedies of Webster, Massinger, and Ford; or in light and unsubstantial flights of fancy in the gay and spirited lyrics of the Cavalier poets. Their leading note is that of Lovelace's plea on deserting Lucasta to go and fight for the king:—

401. Literature (1603-1660)

"I could not love thee, dear, so much
Loved I not honor more."

Lovelace,
To Lucasta

This romantic spirit is seen also in the lyrics of Robert Herrick (1591-1674), who devoted his talents partly to singing the romance of rural life in his *Hesperides*, and partly to

expressing one phase of the contemporary religious ferment in his *Noble Numbers*.

The religious exaltation found its most vivid expression in the works of the master poet John Milton (1608–1674), who joined with it a new classical impulse. For thirty years of his life Milton tried his "prentice hand" on lyrics — (1608–1674) *L'Allegro*, *Lycidas*, etc.— which were Greek in spirit and in dress. During the eleven years of the Commonwealth, as foreign secretary of the government, he devoted all his

powers to his Latin prose *Defences of the English People* for their treatment of Charles I. Aged and made blind by these labors, he used the leisure of the Restoration period in composing the great English epic, *Paradise Lost*. This poem, dealing with the creation and the fall of man, is one expression of the militant Christianity of the Puritans; and at the same time

its epic form, its chaste and

noble diction, and its wealth of mythological and historical ornament express the newer classical tendency of the century.

In painting, the period is notable for the excellent work in portraiture done by Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), a Flemish

403 Paint- painter who was induced by the Earl of Arundel to take ings by up his residence in England. He was knighted by the Van Dyck king and was given a country residence and a pension; (1599–1641) in return for which he painted the portraits of all the Stuarts, and of the most notable members of the court circle.



JOHN MILTON.

From the painting by P. Krämer.

For eleven years after the execution of Charles I., England suffered from a never changing tyranny, in which Cromwell's integrity and ability were pitted against the ignorance, greed of power, and ambition of lesser men. After Cromwell had stamped out the embers of the civil conflagration in the three kingdoms, there followed an experiment in government by oligarchies (official, religious, or military), which proved more tyrannical than the Stuarts themselves; the Rump Parliament was self-seeking, the Barebone's Parliament ignorant, the later Parliaments quarrelsome and unpractical. The sham democracy of the Commonwealth, therefore, had to give way to the disguised tyranny of the Protectorate. Since this rested upon the will of a single extraordinarily able statesman, unity of policy and directness of action were possible; and the victories over Spain and the Mediterranean pirates made England once more respected abroad. This government, however, collapsed with the death of its creator; and amid the dissensions of the democratic leaders, the monarchical sentiment of the nation again asserted itself.

TOPICS

- (1) Discuss Cromwell's action at Drogheda and Wexford, trying to make clear how such a man could sanction such an act. Suggestive topics
- (2) Show the necessity of Parliament's interference in Scotland.
- (3) What in the organization of the Highlanders made them champion the king's cause? (4) What would be the merits and the defects of an army of Highlanders? (5) How did the rivalry of the Dutch and the English in America show itself during this period? (6) What written constitutions were drawn up in America earlier than the Instrument of Government? (7) Review the history of the Long Parliament. (8) Was Monk's action patriotic?
- (9) Discuss the Declaration of Breda. (10) Compare the rule of Cromwell with that of Charles I. (11) Show why the reassembled Rump was the only legal Parliament of the period.

- (12) The aspirations of the Fifth Monarchy Men. (13) The story of Prince Charles's escape after the battle of Worcester. (14) Milton's public services during the Puritan régime. (15) Macaulay's discussion of the character of the Puritans. (16) The effect of the

navigation act of 1651 on the American colonies. (17) The career and fate of the Earl of Montrose. (18) The great sea fights during the Dutch wars of the Commonwealth. (19) Cromwell's family life. (20) Charles II. in exile.

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CHAPTER XXV.

THE RESTORED STUART MONARCHY (1660-1673)

The Convention Parliament entered upon its task of reconstruction with an excess of loyal ardor. It condemned to

death twenty members of the High Court of Justice, although Charles de-
manded the lives of only seven; and it went beyond his wishes in ordering that the king and the church should receive back all their lands which had been confiscated and sold during the period of the Commonwealth.

405. The
Convention
Parliament
(April-Dec.,
1660)



GREAT HALL (NOW LIBRARY) OF LAMBETH PALACE.

Destroyed by a regicide general, 1648; rebuilt on original model, 1660-1663.

change. Most land tenures excepting freehold and copyhold were abolished, so that landowners generally were relieved of various burdensome requirements in the form of payments

and services to the crown. Parliament likewise abolished the crown rights over wardship, marriage, and purveyance (the right to seize provisions for royal use at nominal prices), by means of which, respectively, monarchs had been able (1) to educate the orphan children of Catholic parents in the tenets of the state church, (2) to extort money from heiresses by threatening to compel their marriage with the king's favorites, and (3) to put political pressure on the country gentry.

To make good the revenues thus destroyed, Parliament voted to continue an excise tax which had been levied by the Long Parliament to pay the expenses of the Civil War; and from the sum thus raised, together with the tonnage and poundage duties, the king was to receive £1,200,000 a year for life. As this sum was plainly insufficient for the needs of the king and the expenses of the government, Parliament could still put pressure on the king by refusing to make additional grants of money whenever the king should oppose its will.

In December, 1660, the Convention Parliament was dissolved, and in May, 1661, the first Restoration Parliament

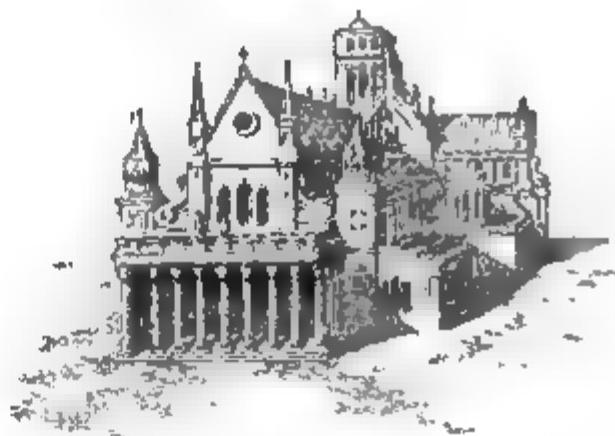
406. The loyalist reaction was summoned. With the exception of about fifty Presbyterians, this Parliament reflected only the Cavalier element in the nation, including many young men to whom the evils of the early Stuart period were apparently unknown. This Parliament gave Charles control over the army and navy, declared it illegal to make war upon the king under any circumstances, and restricted the right to petition the monarch; it repudiated the Solemn League and Covenant, restored the bishops to their seats in the House of Lords, and required all members of Parliament to receive the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church.

Had Charles been strong and able as well as unscrupulous, these measures would have been fatal to English liberty. Fortunately for the nation, he was indolent and pleasure-loving rather than ambitious, and desired above all

things else to make his new position sure. He confirmed both Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, and was content to leave the direction of affairs to advisers who in general stood for the wishes of the nation. Monk, who had placed him on the throne, was made Duke of Albemarle; and Edward Hyde, his most stanch adherent since the death of his father, was made Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor. The marriage of Clarendon's daughter Anne to Charles's brother, the Duke of York, gave Clarendon additional importance at court.

On the Continent Charles had seen absolute monarchs governing through a prime minister; and although this term was not yet in use, Clarendon exercised many of the functions of such an officer. He and a few other councilors who alone were consulted on all matters requiring secrecy and dispatch, were known as the "Cabinet Council" (a term first applied to the advisers of Charles I.), whence the modern term "Cabinet" (§ 635).

Clarendon was a profound lawyer, who carried his legal training and his legal habits of mind into the work of the chancellorship. He was naturally a stickler for the technical rights of the king and a champion of the royal prerogative; but he opposed all attempts of the king to dispense with the statutes in religious matters, and was determined that public business should be kept entirely in the hands of members of the Anglican Church. At his instigation Parliament passed four important acts, aiming to break up the influence of Presbyterians in political life, and to destroy their influence in the church.



WEST FRONT OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, 1660.

(1) The Corporation Act (December, 1661) required members of municipal corporations to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, to take the sacrament in accordance with the rites of the Anglican Church, and to declare on oath (1661-1665) that they believed it illegal to take up arms against the king.

(2) The Act of Uniformity (May, 1662) required all clergymen to make use of the prayer book (now newly revised by Convocation so as to exclude from it all Presbyterian forms), and also to accept on oath all the doctrines contained therein. It required, furthermore, that all officers in the universities, and all schoolmasters and tutors, should be tested by an oath similar to that contained in the Corporation Act. Two thousand ministers, constituting one fifth of the entire English clergy, voluntarily left their livings rather than violate their consciences by accepting the provisions of the Act of Uniformity.

(3) In 1664 Parliament added the Conventicle Act, which prohibited the assembling for independent religious service of more than four persons besides the family in whose home the services were held.

(4) The next year it passed the Five-mile Act, which forbade any minister to go within five miles of any city, corporate town, or parliamentary borough, or even within five miles of any parish in which he had preached since 1660, unless he had previously taken an oath declaring it illegal to take up arms against the king and pledging himself not to try to alter the government in church or state.

These acts marked the high tide of Anglican tyranny in England, a tide which would soon have ebbed, had not the behavior of Charles II. and his successor kept alive the spirit of religious bigotry. As it was, they tended to create a strong body of Nonconformists, or persons who refused to conform to laws about religion, and thus seriously affected the influence of the established church.

Meanwhile the contest for naval supremacy between the Dutch and the English was resumed. Holland was held to be "England's eternal enemy, both by intent and inclination," and English statesmen parodied Cato's cry against Carthage; — "Holland must be destroyed." Besides England's long-standing claim that "the narrow seas" were inland waters under her own jurisdiction, commercial rivalry was the chief cause of enmity. Both powers were trying to monopolize the commerce in the far East, by forming treaties with native chiefs, and by planting trading stations; and quarrels which took place in those far-away regions often led to actual warfare, since each nation felt bound to protect its own citizens. The most immediate causes of the war of 1665 were the Dutch dislike of England's navigation acts, and disputes regarding territories in Africa and America. England claimed the entire territory from the St. Lawrence to Florida, in spite of the fact that the Dutch West India Company had maintained a settlement at the mouth of the Hudson for forty years. In 1664 Charles granted the territory held by the Dutch to his brother James, Duke of York; and James, as Lord High Admiral, promptly dispatched a fleet to seize the Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam. Another fleet seized all Dutch vessels on the African coast, and the Dutch responded by seizing all the English forts on the coast of Guinea.

The next year (1665) war was formally declared by England. Parliament, by a unanimous vote, provided £2,500,000 for the war, and Charles's brother James, Duke of York and Lord High Admiral, sailed with one hundred and thirty-nine vessels to engage a Dutch fleet of about equal size. The (1665-1667) battle off Lowestoft was a brilliant victory for the English. In perfect line, like a body of well disciplined cavalry, they swept down upon the Dutch, who retreated with the loss of an admiral, nineteen ships, and seven thousand men, while the English loss was hardly one fifth as great.

Naval fortune proved fickle. A terrible plague which swept over England during 1665–1666 decimated the crews of the English vessels; a Dutch fleet attacked the English vessels at the mouth of the Thames while they were unprepared for action; Denmark and the two German states of Brandenburg and Brunswick allied themselves with the Dutch; and France, though friendly to England, threatened to do the same. In these straits England fought desperately. In a four days' naval battle off the Downs (June, 1666), De Ruyter and Van Tromp, with one hundred vessels, crippled, but failed to destroy, a much smaller English fleet under Monk and Rupert. Two months later Monk defeated De Ruyter off the coast of Norfolk, and followed up this victory by the destruction of one hundred and fifty-one merchant vessels at the entrance to the Zuyder Zee, the very threshold of Holland.

Both parties to the struggle were now practically exhausted, and the distress of England was increased by the terrible fire

413. End of London (1666), which destroyed thirteen thousand of the Dutch houses within the city walls, and for the time being **war (July, 1667)** paralyzed the efficiency of the government. The Dutch seized the opportunity to avenge the shame of the Zuyder

Zee. A fleet of sixty-one vessels under De Ruyter entered the mouth of the river Thames, ascended as far as Gravesend and Rochester, captured three men-of-war before the eyes of the English, and retired unmolested. The result was a popular demand for peace, too strong to be resisted.



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON.

As rebuilt after the fire of 1666. resisted; and England hastened to negotiate a treaty at Breda in 1667, by which neither side gained marked advantage. All

conquests in ships and in territory were to be retained—a provision which gave New York to the English and Surinam (Dutch Guiana) to the Dutch; the navigation acts were so far relaxed that goods from Holland, Germany, or Flanders might be brought to England in Dutch vessels; a provision for a defensive alliance against all enemies was adopted; and the pride of England was salved by the agreement of the Dutch to salute English vessels in British waters, not as a symbol of subjection, but as a matter of international courtesy.

The acquisition of the territory about the Hudson gave to England a continuous territory on the Atlantic coast of America; and a treaty with Spain in 1670 confirmed her title to the whole area as far south as Carolina. The Stuarts liked a proprietary type of colony modeled after the palatine counties of Chester and Durham—of which Maryland (1632) was the earliest American example; and Charles II. had early (1663) granted to Clarendon, Albemarle, Ashley, and others the territory of Carolina, with palatine powers. After the conquest of New Amsterdam, the former New Netherland became the proprietary colony of New York, and the king soon created two others—New Jersey (1664) and Pennsylvania (1682).

413. New
American
colonies

Among the fruits of the Puritan religious ferment were the Quakers, a religious sect which went to the extreme in hostility to the ceremonial of the established church, and in championship of democratic principles. After twelve thousand Quakers had been imprisoned for nonconformity, many sought relief from the Anglican tyranny in the new colonies, under the protection of the Quaker proprietor, William Penn.

In 1661 the Scottish Privy Council, by order of Charles II., had proclaimed the reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland. As a result of this order, three hundred Scottish ministers were driven from their parishes. The Scottish Parliament now passed laws for compulsory attendance upon

414.
Charles II.
and Scot-
land

the services of the established church; but many congregations, especially in western Scotland, met in retired fields and glens for secret worship according to the Presbyterian forms. Both Charles II. and James II. strove to suppress these field-meetings, or conventicles, and the Covenanters again and again broke out into armed rebellion. They were, of course, repeatedly beaten by the royal troops, but every defeat, and the severe penalties which were visited upon those taken prisoners, only served to alienate from the Stuarts the hearts of their Scottish subjects.

By 1667, Clarendon became unacceptable both to the king and to Parliament, because he opposed religious toleration in

415. The Cabal ministry any form, was severe in his own morals, and advocated an unpopular foreign policy. He was accordingly removed from office, impeached, and banished. Charles now looked for advice to a small group of members from his Privy Council. A similar group in the reign of James I. had been nicknamed the "Cabal" (an Arabic word meaning "secret"); and this term was applied with special point to Charles's coterie of five ministers — Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. These men had little in common, but each was personally agreeable to the king; Buckingham was a man of brilliant intellect, who amused the king and shared in his vicious pleasures; Clifford was an ardent Catholic, and believed in absolute government; Ashley (a Presbyterian) had great political shrewdness, and was a strong advocate of religious toleration. To Charles these favorites were an easy means of shifting responsibility from his own shoulders; for when he had led them into proposals which failed to catch the favor of the nation, he sacrificed them to the popular clamor, and appointed new scapegoats in their place.

The downfall of the conservative Clarendon was only one among many indications that England was about to enter

upon a new phase of national life, in both its internal and its foreign policy. In 1661 the young king Louis XIV. of France "became his own prime minister," and entered upon a long course of intrigue and aggression. He had two principal aims: to extend the boundaries of France to include the mouth of the Rhine by absorbing both the Spanish and the Dutch Netherlands; and to restore the Catholic religion in the Protestant countries of western Europe.

To Louis, champion of Catholicism and of absolutism, Charles now turned as to a kindred spirit. Each of these kings was an unscrupulous intriguer in politics, each was luxurious and vicious in his daily life, each was determined to rule his kingdom for his own personal advantage and pleasure. The history of the period beginning with the year 1667 is a history of intrigues in which the several ministers in the Cabal plotted against one another, while the monarch intrigued with and betrayed each in succession — using their influence to secure money from Parliament when possible, but all the time playing into the hands of France, and always relying on Louis XIV. for money and for moral and perhaps physical support.

In 1667 Louis XIV. made his first attack upon the Spanish Netherlands, but was temporarily checked by the Dutch, who hastened to negotiate a defensive "Triple Alliance" with England and Sweden. The stand thus taken by England was due to the sagacity of Sir William Temple, who perceived in France a far more threatening rival than Holland could ever be; but the English statesman could not restrain the greed and treachery of the English king. In 1670 a secret treaty was negotiated at Dover, by the terms of which Charles was at once to abandon the Triple Alliance, to declare war against Holland, and to make a strong naval demonstration, while Louis was to attack Holland on land, and was to conclude with England a commercial treaty. At the first favorable opportunity, Charles was to declare his conversion to

Catholicism and to receive from France moral and, if necessary, military support in overthrowing the Anglican Church. In the meantime Charles received an immediate gift of £150,000 and the pledge of a subsidy of £225,000 a year as long as the Dutch war lasted. He was also ultimately to receive certain towns on the coast of Zealand.

While Louis was engaged in bribing Sweden to desert the Triple Alliance, and in negotiating treaties with certain Ger-

418. First Declaration of Indulgence (March 15, 1672) man states, Charles first tricked Parliament into a grant of £800,000, on the ground that England required a fleet equal in strength to either the Dutch or the French fleet; and then prorogued it (to forestall opposition) and issued a Declaration of Indulgence (March 15, 1672), the first step toward fulfilling the secret treaty of Dover. This Declaration suspended "the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against whatsoever sort of nonconformists." Ashley, though eager to secure toleration for Presbyterians, was loath to grant favors to Catholics; but the gift of the earldom of Shaftesbury led him to accept the king's policy. A declaration of war against the Dutch followed two days later; but the English merchants, who found that their commercial interests suffered more from the war than from the competition of the Dutch, soon began to clamor for peace.

Charles's position was especially weak because of his spendthrift habits. A gambler, a libertine, a "prince of good fellows,"

419. Failure of the Declaration he enriched his favorites, male and female, not only with dukedoms and marquisates, but also with fabulous gifts of money and jewels. Millions of pounds were squandered within a year after the proroguing of Parliament, and a new session had to be summoned early in 1673 for fresh supplies. Parliament immediately entered upon a grand battle with the king over the recent Declaration of Indulgence, refusing to discuss any other question until that should be settled.

The question whether the king's prerogative of pardon could be stretched so as to permit him to nullify an act of Parliament, was vital. Parliament insisted that in this case the king was not really pardoning, but was licensing a crime before its commission. Parliament was ready to relieve Protestant dissenters, but Charles did not want this reform unless like liberties could be granted Catholics, and therefore he withdrew his Declaration. Parliament immediately passed a Test Act, which compelled all officers under the crown to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and to renounce the doctrine of transubstantiation. This act forced the Catholic Clifford out of the position of Lord Treasurer, and the Duke of York out of his position as Lord High Admiral. Shaftesbury became leader of the Opposition, and the Cabal was thus dissolved.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV.'s invasion of Holland was stopped by the patriotic Netherlanders, who in desperation cut the dikes and flooded the country. In order to be free to fight Louis, they offered to make large concessions to England; and in February, 1674, Parliament forced the king to agree to peace. The Dutch surrendered all posts which they had captured from England outside of Europe, agreed to arbitrate all disputes between their traders and the East India Company, pledged themselves to pay an indemnity of £800,000, and agreed to salute the English flag throughout the narrow seas; while England made no concessions except a general agreement not to aid any enemies of the Dutch. Parliament now demanded that the king should disband the army; and Charles—having obtained a promise of £1,000,000 annually from Louis XIV., to make him independent of Parliament—prorogued it for fifteen months (November, 1675).

"Then came those days, never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty, and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic

420. Peace
with Hol-
land

421. Soci-
ety, and the
Restoration
drama

vices. . . . The king cringed to his rival that he might Macaulay,
Essay on
Milton, 78 trample on his people, sank into a viceroy of France, and pocketed, with complacent infamy, her degrading insults, and her more degrading gold. The caresses of harlots, and the jests of buffoons, regulated the policy of the state. The government had just ability enough to deceive, and just religion enough to persecute."

Such conditions as these were most unfavorable to the development of literature and art. The theater, tabooed under the Commonwealth, again became popular, but the dramas produced by Wycherly and his successors were trivial in



JOHN DRYDEN.

From the painting by P. Krämer. John Dryden (1631-1700) at first continued the tradition of the early Stuart dramatists in a series of less objectionable tragedies; but the Elizabethan inspiration was dead, and most of his dramatic work is as dull and as wicked as that of his contemporaries. His lyric poetry, however, shows a mastery over technique, and a power of clear, concise, forceful expression which made him the leader of a new school of poetry.

The most popular poem of the time was Butler's mock-epic *Hudibras*, which satirized in witty verse the bigoted Puritan crusade against sports and the blundering Puritan attempts at government without experience in statecraft. In contrast to all this triviality stands out one noble

work which gives expression to the highest aspirations of the Puritans — Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1675). This work, written by a Nonconformist preacher while imprisoned under the Conventicle Act, is an allegorical account of the religious experiences of man in his journey through this world, and it sets forth with wonderful vividness his emotions while under conviction of sin, during temptation and discouragement, and while passing through the River of Death from mortal to immortal life.

Strangely enough, it is to Charles II. that England owes the incorporation of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge (1662), which has ever since given remarkable encouragement to scientific investigation. The society sprang from the weekly meetings of a group of "worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy" (a subject in which the king was as deeply interested as it was possible for him to be in anything serious), and made a beginning of investigations in "Physick, Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, . . . Chymicks, Mechanicks," etc. Under Charles II., too, was established (1675) the Royal Astronomical Observatory at Greenwich (now part of London).

423. Foundation of the Royal Society (1662)

The return of the Stuarts proved how impossible had been the political and religious schemes of the leaders of the Civil War. The restoration of the monarchy with generous powers, and the reestablishment of the Anglican Church with such safeguards as the Corporation, Uniformity, and Conventicle acts, show clearly the political and religious preferences of the majority of the nation. By these acts, which drove the Presbyterians definitely into the ranks of the Nonconformist party, the quality of the clergy in the Church of England was fixed at a low level for a long term of years, since many of the most truthful, intelligent, devoted, and spiritual clergymen were displaced by less worthy per-

424. Summary

sons, selected by the king and his irreligious favorites. The literature of the period reflects its low moral tone.

In political life, as the king grew more confident of himself, the faults of his father grew more noticeable in him; but his financial dealings with Louis XIV. left him free from that absolute dependence on Parliament which proved fatal to Charles I. Many Englishmen to whom these conditions were intolerable emigrated to America; the rest girded themselves anew for battle in defense of the ancient liberties of England.

Meanwhile, the long duel with Holland was brought to an end. Under the strain of her century-long struggle against Spain and France, the little state was unable to hold her place as an aggressive leading colonial power; and henceforth she made common cause with England as a rival of Catholic and despotic France.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Prove that the so-called Convention Parliament was not entitled to the name of Parliament. (2) Why was this a good opportunity to abolish antiquated feudal conditions? (3) What kind of tax would have been the most equitable substitute for the extinct feudal dues? (4) Is an excise tax easy or difficult to collect? (5) What did the king hope to gain by coupling the cause of toleration for Roman Catholics (which he favored) with toleration for Nonconformists (whom he disliked)? (6) Can you find any specific points of likeness between Holland and Carthage, in their relations to their rivals? (7) Review and compare the different Acts of Uniformity; (8) the Acts of Supremacy; and (9) the Test Acts from the Reformation to 1900. (10) Why were Nonconformist ministers specially exiled from the cities, corporate towns, and boroughs?

Search topics

(11) The great French minister, Mazarin. (12) Samuel Pepys's account of the Plague in London, and the Great Fire of 1666. (13) Louis XIV. and his schemes of conquest. (14) The career of William III. of Orange as the defender of Holland. (15) Capture of New Amsterdam. (16) Career of William Penn. (17) William III. of Orange and the brothers De Witt. (18) Life of John Bunyan. (19) Present status of the Nonconformists. (20) Description of a sea fight with the Dutch.

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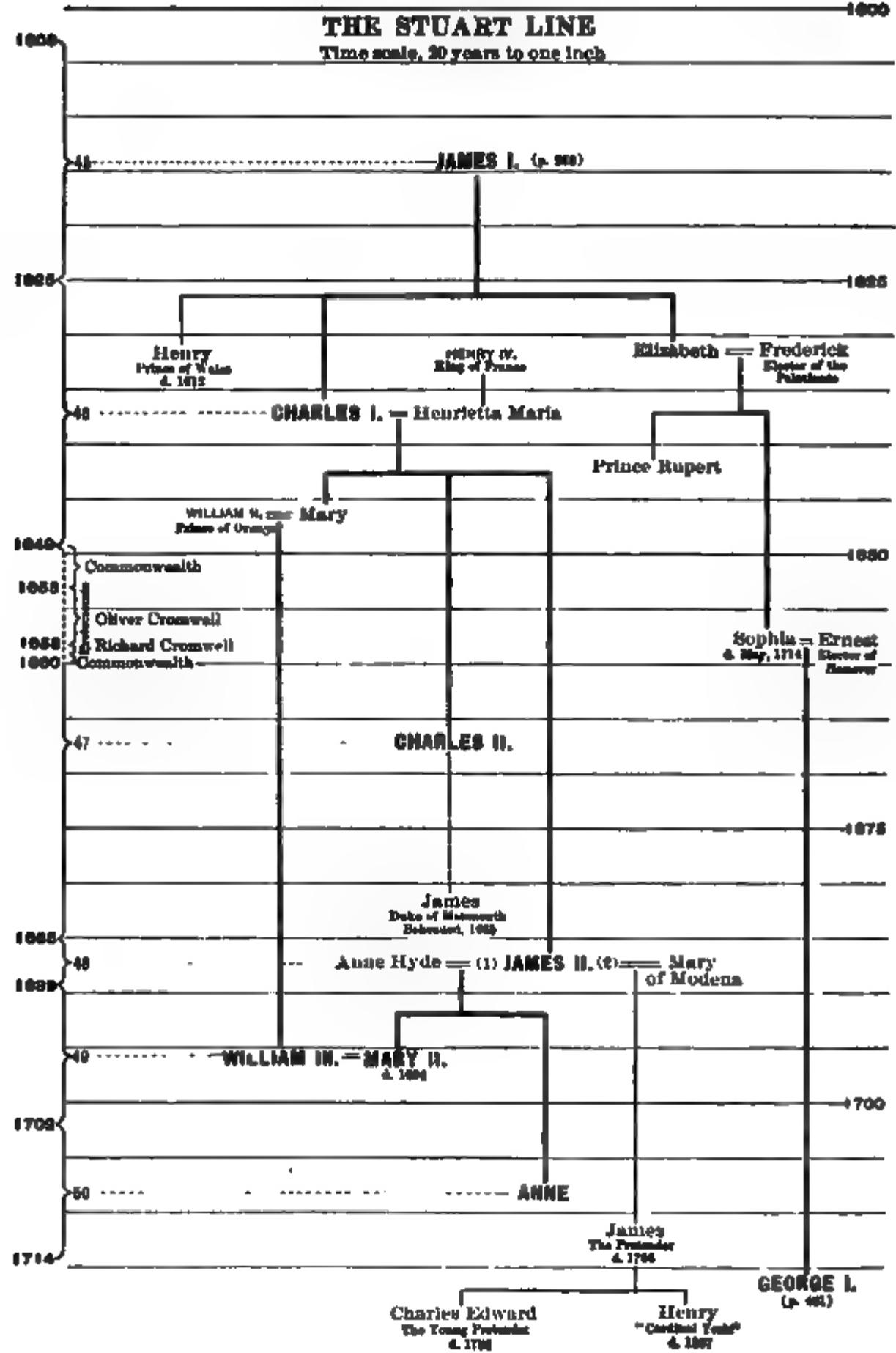
See maps, pp. 280, 385, 421; Reich, *New Students' Atlas*, map 27. Bright, *History of England*, II. 722–745; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chs. xxxvii. xxxviii. 623, 628–634, — *The Puritan Revolution*, ch. x. §§ 3–6; Ransome, *Advanced History*, 613–631; Green, *Short History*, ch. ix. §§ 1–3, — *History of English People*, bk. viii. chs. i. ii.; Montague, *Elements of Constitutional History*, 135–141; Powell and Tout, *History of England*, 644–659; Brewer, *Student's Hume*, ch. xxiv.; Lingard, *History of England*, VII. chs. vi.–ix.; Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. ii.; Jenks, *Parliamentary England*, ch. i.; Lawless, *Ireland*, ch. xli.; Morris, *Ireland (1494–1868)*, 164–172; Lang, *History of Scotland*, 284–326; Brown, *History of Scotland*, 380–404; Bayne, *Chief Actors of the Puritan Revolution*, chs. v. xi.; Airy, *The English Restoration and Louis XIV.*; Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America*; Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*; Lyall, *Rise of British Dominion in India*, ch. ii.; Taswell-Langmead, *Constitutional History*, 511–527; Traill, *Social England*, ch. xv.; Routledge, *Chapters in the History of Popular Progress*, ch. i.

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Secondary
authorities**

**Illustrative
works**



CHAPTER XXVI.

FALL OF THE STUARTS (1673-1688)

FROM 1673 to 1679 the Earl of Danby, the new Lord Treasurer, followed Clarendon's policy of building up the royal power and the Anglican Church. To control successive Parliaments he either bribed the constituencies to elect subservient members, or bribed the members after election. The money came from France, Holland, and Spain, all eager to secure the support of England in their various continental schemes. The honest members of Parliament proved almost as bad representatives as the dishonest ones, through their silly bickering at a time when united action was most needed. Whenever Parliament threatened an injury to French interests, Louis XIV. induced Charles to dissolve or to prorogue it, furnishing meanwhile £1,000,000 a year to make him independent of money grants. In 1677-1678, he paid Charles £1,600,000 to delay a meeting of Parliament for ten months, in order that he might be free to negotiate for peace with the Dutch on his own terms.

To complete the tale of dishonesty, Charles summoned Parliament before the time agreed upon, and that body, by threatening war, forced Louis to conclude the disadvantageous treaty of Nimwegen (1678). As a result of the six years' struggle, the Dutch lost not an acre of land on the Continent, and secured favorable trade privileges for the succeeding twenty-five years; while France, besides losing her hopes of conquest in the Netherlands, was obliged to make concessions to the allies of the Dutch, and was left exhausted

425.

Charles's dependence on

Louis XIV.

426. Fruits of Charles's treachery

in finances and in military strength. Most serious of all, Louis created for himself an implacable enemy in William III. of Orange, nephew of Charles II., stadholder of Holland and the foremost statesman of Europe. A year before the end of the war, William bound the English Protestants to his interests by marrying James's eldest daughter Mary; within the next decade he succeeded in ranging all the other leading states of western Europe in line against France.



A PIKEMAN,
17TH CENTURY.

In England the peace of Nimwegen hastened a religious panic; for it was felt that in the army, which had been used to put pressure upon Louis, Charles now had a formidable means of tyranny. Although the secret terms of the treaty of Dover had not yet been disclosed, people suspected that some political stroke was impending.

Three days after the signing of the treaty of Nimwegen, the king received a letter warning him of a plot to assassinate him.

**427. The
alleged
"Popish
Plot" (1678)** This letter was traced to a certain Dr. Titus Oates, who claimed that while he was a student in a Jesuit college he had learned of a plot of the Catholics to gain control of England. He implicated persons high in authority, among them various Catholic peers, the secretary of the Duke of York, the confessor of the queen, the Spanish minister to England, and King Louis XIV. In spite of Oates's known rascality, his stories were believed, and the rewards showered upon him incited other knaves to invent similar lies. Many Catholics were executed, and still more were unjustly imprisoned.

The statements of Oates and his imitators probably had no foundation whatever in fact; but just as the excitement reached

its height, some letters were made public which had been written by the Earl of Danby and Charles to King Louis, demanding money in return for aid to the French schemes. This apparent proof of a widespread Catholic conspiracy added fuel to the flames. The Cavalier Parliament, which had lasted seventeen years, was dissolved to save Danby from its wrath; but its successor sent him to the Tower, and forced the king to accept Shaftesbury as president of his council. The Duke of York took refuge upon the Continent, and the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of the king, at once began plotting to secure the throne on the death of his father.

428. Fall
of Danby
(1679)

To keep himself in power, Shaftesbury strove by every means to increase the panic against Catholicism, and he even favored Monmouth. His pet measure was an Exclusion Bill which was framed to debar James of York from succeeding to the throne. To prevent the passage of this bill Charles was forced to dissolve Parliament after a session of only two months; but during that time one notable measure was passed, by which the subject was forever guarded against imprisonment for political reasons. The right of a prisoner to be tried promptly or to be released from prison was very ancient, but during the Stuart tyranny it fell into disuse because judges under the influence of the crown refused to issue the necessary writs, or because the prisoner was taken by the king's orders to some place out of reach of his friends. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 extended the earlier laws against the illegal imprisonment of Englishmen so as to make them operative over Ireland, Scotland, the Channel Islands, etc.; provided heavy fines for keeping in jail unconvicted prisoners; and established a legal process for finding out the reason for detention (Appendix M).

429. Exclu-
sion Bill
and Habeas
Corpus Act
(1679)

A fourth Parliament was summoned in 1679 and a fifth in 1681; both were dissolved in order to prevent the passage

of the Exclusion Bill. At the session of the latter which met at Oxford, both parties appeared in arms, and civil war seemed imminent. Shaftesbury, however, overreached himself.
430. Fall of Shaftesbury (Nov., 1681) He published the most wild and obviously invented stories, alleging that the nation had been corrupted by French gold, and declaring that the fire of 1666 was due to the intrigues of Catholics; and he finally schemed to seize the king and compel him to accept the Exclusion Bill.

Such overviolence defeated its own end. Charles, finding public sentiment inclining to his side, prosecuted Shaftesbury on the charge of manufacturing evidence against the royal family. The prosecution failed, but the popular belief in the Popish Plot was dying out; the king, by abrogating the charters of many Whig towns and filling their corporations with his own nominees, insured the election of a Tory Parliament; and Shaftesbury, recognizing his danger, fled to Holland, where he died a year later (January, 1683).

The fight over the Exclusion Bill gave rise to the first party names in English history; for as soon as Shaftesbury was dismissed from office he secured petitions for a meeting of Parliament, so that the Exclusion Bill might be passed. The king's adherents promptly got up counter-petitions declaring their "abhorrence" of any attempt to interfere with the king's prerogative of assembling Parliament when he pleased. The former were at once nicknamed "Petitioners," and the latter "Abhorrers"; but these mild terms soon gave way to the more offensive nicknames of "Whig" and "Tory." "Whig" was a Scottish term, and as applied to the Petitioners meant that they were at heart rebels like the Scottish Covenanters; "Tory" was an Irish expression for a brigand, and implied that the Abhorrers were Popish thieves. Thenceforward, for many years, the Whigs were distinguished by their willingness to resist and even to depose the king should necessity arise, and by their

defense of religious toleration; the Tories stood by the hereditary right of the king to his crown, and the authority of the Episcopal Church.

After Shaftesbury's flight, James's enemies could no longer profit by the bugbear of the Popish Plot. Driven to desperation, they attempted still wilder schemes. In particular, ^{433. End of} certain followers of Shaftesbury were detected in a plot ^{Charles II's} ^{reign} to assassinate Charles as he passed by the "Rye House" (1682-1688) on a journey from Newmarket to London. The nation at last



A FROST FAIR ON THE THAMES.

From a tract entitled *God's Works is the World's Wonder*, 1683.

grew so indifferent to alarms that by the end of 1683 it had largely recovered its normal tone. James was restored to his office of Lord High Admiral, Danby was released from the Tower, and Oates was punished for his share in the late conspiracy. Tangier, in Morocco, which had passed to England as the dowry of Charles's wife, was abandoned, and its garrison of seventeen hundred horse and seven thousand foot was brought to England and maintained in the king's service in violation of the law, without a single protest. On February 6,

1685, Charles died, having previously received absolution and the sacraments from a Catholic priest, and was succeeded by his brother James.

James II. was fifty-two years old at his accession in 1685.

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Monmouth's one chance of success lay in proceeding boldly eastward, but his weak character and his military incapacity

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James now felt his throne secure, and at once prepared to raise the issue of the monarch's right to exercise the dispensing power in matters of religion. On the pretense that Monmouth's rebellion proved that the militia was inefficient, he organized a small standing army ; the troops thus raised were stationed at Hounslow Heath, near London, probably for the purpose of overawing that city ; Parliament was prorogued to avoid a conflict; and in a test case in a packed court, eleven out of twelve justices rendered a decision that the monarch had the right to dispense with the Test Act, as with any other statute, and that his prerogative in this respect could not legally be restrained by any act of Parliament.

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James's preparations for absolutism

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All this time, William III. of Orange, James's son-in-law, was watching affairs in England with the keenest interest. James's most trusted officers, like Colonel Churchill and the Earl of Sunderland, were engaged in disloyal correspondence with William; and Russell, head of the navy, visited Holland in person to persuade him to assume control in England. The temptation was great, for he needed the assistance of England to accomplish the ruling purpose of his life, the ruin of Louis XIV.'s schemes of conquest. Furthermore,

*Letter of the
Papal
Nuncio.*

440. "The
patriots"
and Wil-
liam III. of
Orange

the birth of a son to James on June 10, 1688, cut off the direct succession of the Princess Mary, wife of William, to the throne. Nevertheless, the cautious prince absolutely refused to move until he should receive an authentic list of adherents "either very numerous or very high in rank."

On the very day of the acquittal of the bishops, a letter of invitation was sent to him, signed by the Duke of Devonshire, representing the old Whig party; the Earl of Shrewsbury, a leader among the nobility; the Earl of Danby, representing the Tories hostile to the French alliance; Crompton, Bishop of London, representing the higher clergy; Henry Sidney, representing a small group of Radicals; Lord Lumley, representing those who had hitherto clung to James; and Russell, Lord High Admiral. William was assured that nineteen twentieths of all the nobles and gentry would rally to his support, and that nine tenths of the army and navy were ready to desert James. At this decisive moment Louis XIV. plunged into a war by invading the Palatinate (§ 342) and left William free to invade England.

On October 10, 1688, William issued a proclamation at the Hague, declaring that James's proceedings were a peril to the liberties of English subjects; that the alleged birth of a son to James called for an investigation in defense of Mary's rights; and that he intended to go to England with forces, not with any idea of conquest, but to promote the assemblage of a free and legal Parliament, to settle the questions in dispute.

As soon as William landed at Tor Bay in Devonshire (November 5, 1688), the royal troops began deserting to his standard, and the nobles of the west hastened to offer him their services. As he advanced eastward, his ranks increased daily. Finally, when Colonel Churchill, and even the Princess Anne, had gone over to the newcomer, James suddenly awoke to his own danger, began to dismiss Catholics from office, and opened

negotiations with William. Eleven days later, in sudden panic, he fled from London to the coast, where he was seized by some overzealous officers and brought back to London; but he was soon permitted to escape, and took refuge with Louis XIV. James once safely out of the way, a committee consisting of the peers of the realm and the mayor and alder-

*Le bon Dieu debours oy deliberation
Et de vous le plus iur ce que il
veu faire pour le bene et la
securite du Royaume*



KING WILLIAM III.'S AUTOGRAPH.

Portion of a message to Parliament.¹

men of the city of London entered into negotiations with William; and it was agreed that a Convention Parliament should be immediately summoned, to adjust the affairs of the kingdom.

The dependence of Charles II. on Louis XIV. created a widespread fear for the safety of the established religion in England: the Catholics numbered less than three per cent of the population, and the panic was groundless; but Oates and his fellows profited by it to gain money and

¹ Translation: "[I pray] the good Lord to bless your deliberations and to inspire you with what is needed for the welfare and the safety of the kingdom. WILLIAM R[EX]."

notoriety by their Popish Plot fictions, while Shaftesbury used it to gain political influence over Charles, and to try to set up as his successor the Duke of Monmouth, a puppet whom he could control. Each overshot his mark, and James II. came to the throne all the stronger for their attacks. Out of the turmoil arose the Whig and Tory parties, divided on the question of kingly prerogative and of religious toleration. King James II.'s open defiance of all constitutional restraint soon forced Whig and Tory to make common cause with William of Orange for the defense of the constitution. For the fourth time since the Norman conquest, an English monarch was deprived of the authority which he had abused; but this time, happily, without a war, and without the death of the offending monarch.

TOPICS

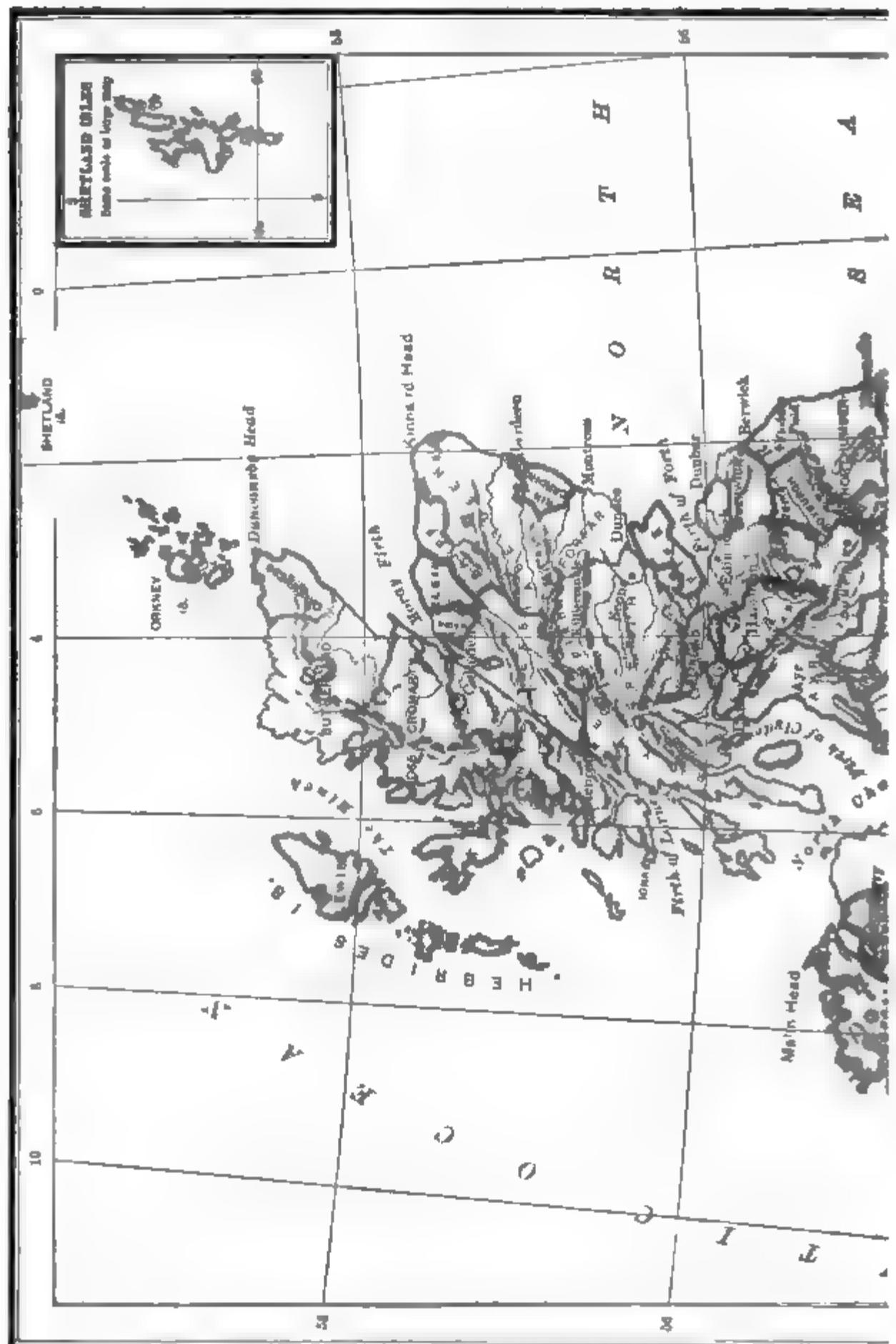
- Suggestive topics** (1) Why did Louis XIV. find it impossible to conquer Holland ?
(2) How did Oates dare to implicate such powerful persons in the Popish Plot ? (3) What valid objections were there to the Exclusion Bill ? (4) Can you suggest anything which would justify the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act ? (5) Prove that Parliament had a right to exclude James of York from the throne. (6) Were the Petitioners really infringing on the king's prerogative ? (7) Show exactly how a new Parliament could be shaped in advance by changing the charters of the towns (cf. § 568). (8) How would William of Orange be likely to view Monmouth's expedition against James ? (9) Show the weakness of the doctrine of "passive obedience." (10) What plausible argument could James bring to show that the bishops had "published a libel" ? (11) Why did the birth of James's son affect the advocates of passive resistance ? (12) Did William have any legal right to interfere in English affairs ?
Search topics (13) The *habeas corpus* principle as it appears in the Constitution of the United States. (14) Monmouth's Rebellion. (15) Shaftesbury's character, as portrayed in Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. (16) A sketch of Jeffreys's procedure in the Bloody Assize. (17) James's last fortnight in England. (18) The relations of James with John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough. (19) City government in England in the eighteenth century. (20) Character of James II.

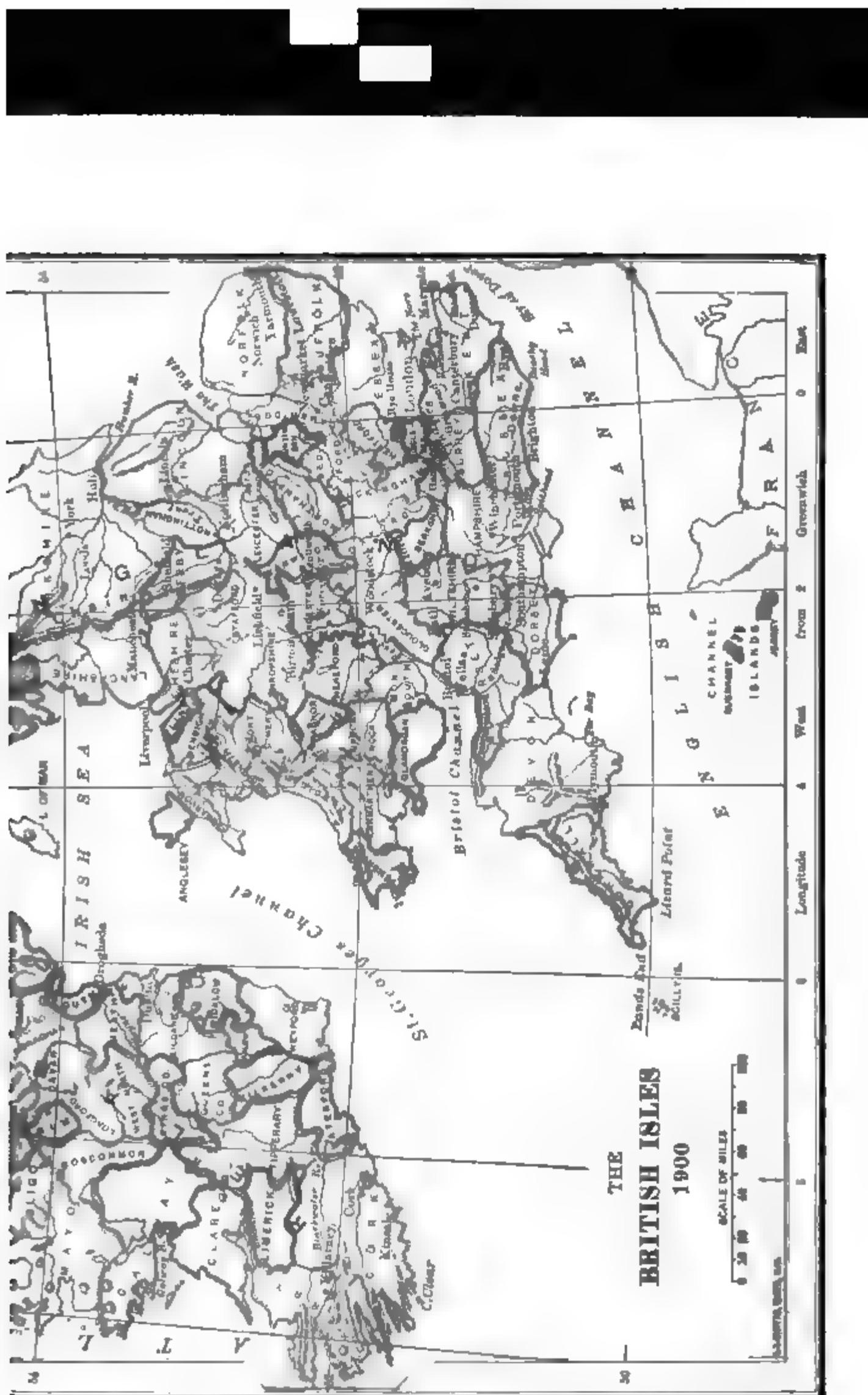
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works





CHAPTER XXVII.

LIMITATION OF THE ROYAL AUTHORITY : WILLIAM III. (1689-1702)

THE Convention Parliament was anxious to give a show of legality to what was really a revolution. The extreme defenders of monarchy by divine right insisted that James was still king, reigning but not ruling; the moderates urged (Jan., 1689) that he had virtually abdicated the throne; but the radicals, who had risked their lives to end his tyranny, declared that he had forfeited the power vested in him by the people, and should be summarily deposed by the people. An ingenious but self-contradictory "omnibus declaration" was drawn up and passed by Parliament, which declared that "King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the country, has abdicated the government, and the throne has thereby become vacant."

The champions of liberty were now determined to end once for all the quarrels over the royal prerogative. A Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the English people was therefore presented to William and Mary, and, on their (Feb., 1689) acceptance of the principles laid down in this declaration

(February 13, 1689), they were made joint sovereigns of England, William to administer the government during his life, and the succession thereafter to pass in order (1) to Mary; (2) to the children of William and Mary; (3) to the Princess

Anne; (4) to Anne's children. The Convention Parliament then passed a resolution declaring that it was a genuine Parliament, "notwithstanding faults in the writ by which it had been summoned," and this resolution was ratified by the new monarchs. Thenceforth the monarchs of England were to rule by hereditary right and by the authority derived from the representatives of the people; and they were to hold their office only on the conditions laid down in the Declaration of Rights.

The first measures passed by this self-constituted Parliament were far-reaching. A permanent distinction was now made between the "civil list" (hereditary taxes set apart for the support of the crown) and the various parliamentary taxes levied for the support of the government; a Toleration Act gave to Protestant dissenters, except Unitarians, the right to assemble for worship; an Act of Supremacy and Allegiance required all holders of office in church and state to take oath to support the new monarchs, thus forcing about four hundred "nonjuring clergymen" to give up their livings; and a Mutiny Act gave to the crown the right to enforce discipline in the army by courts-martial, but this right was limited at first to a period of six months, and thereafter to a single year. Thus causes of disturbance were removed, the monarchs were given the power to repress disorder, and at the same time Parliament retained the sources of that power in its own hands.

Lastly, and most important of all, Parliament framed into a statute and enacted (October 9, 1689) all the important parts of the Declaration of Rights which had been presented to William and Mary. This "Bill of Rights" formally declared that it is unconstitutional and illegal for the monarch (1) to suspend or dispense with the laws; (2) to create a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission; (3) to levy taxes without a grant from Parliament; (4) to maintain a standing army; (5) to

445. Constitutional changes (1689)

446. Bill of Rights (Oct., 1689)

tenance his illegal action, he filled the vacancies with Catholics. In Ireland, the army, the judicial bench, and the privy council were put under the control of Catholics. In the larger cities and towns, the corporations were remodeled to make places for Catholic voters, although as a bribe to Nonconformists a few of their leaders were also appointed to places. In Scotland James dispensed by proclamation with all laws against Roman Catholics; and finally he issued a Declaration of Indulgence (April 4, 1687) granting freedom of worship to all Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters in England.

These acts were all patiently endured, because the majority of the Tory party, hoping that James would be succeeded by **488. Second Declaration of Indulgence(1688)** his Protestant daughter, adopted a policy of "passive obedience"; that is, they ignored orders from the king which required them to perform illegal acts, but they would not actively resist the monarch or try to restrain him by force. From this position they were driven to open revolt by James's own tyrannical folly.

On April 22, 1688, he issued another Declaration of Indulgence, and raised a definite issue with the advocates of passive resistance by an Order in Council requiring the clergy of all denominations to read this declaration from their pulpits on two successive Sundays. The most loyal were aghast at such folly. At a meeting of churchmen called at the palace of the Archbishop of York in London, it was decided that a petition signed by the archbishop and six representative bishops should be presented to the monarch, praying him not to compel them to break the law by reading the declaration, since the right of the monarch to exercise dispensing power had at various times been denied by Parliament.

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said he, "ever yet questioned the dispensing power." Bishop Ken, of Bath and Wells, boldly demanded that the bishops be granted "the same liberty of conscience granted to others." On James's refusal he replied, "We have two duties, one to God and one to your Majesty"; and he with his fellows departed, saying "God's will be done."

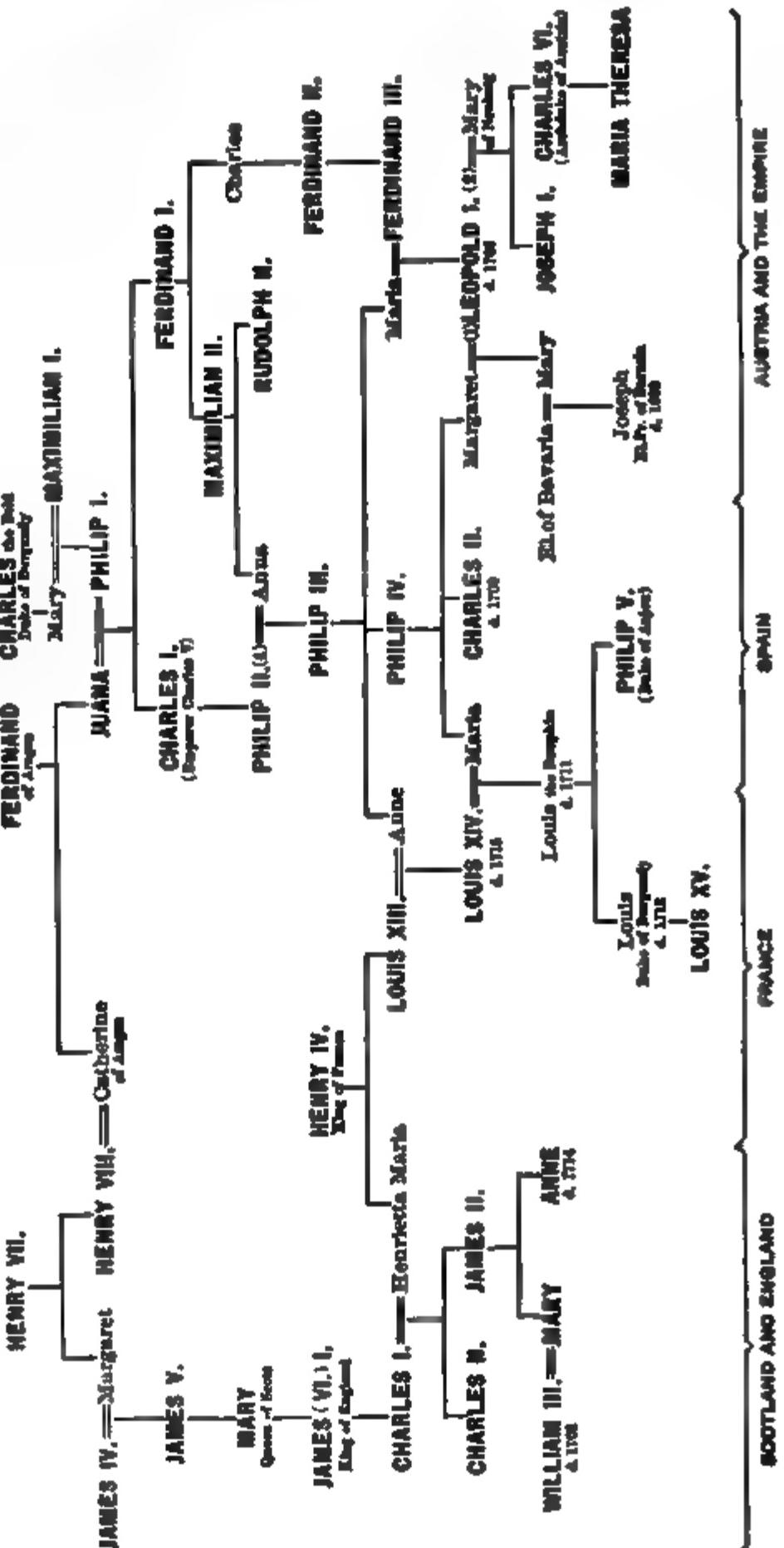
The bishops were now indicted before the Court of the King's Bench on the charge of "publishing a false, malicious and seditious libel," and were sent to the Tower. At their trial (June 29, 1688) the bishops pleaded (1) that there had been no "publication" of the petition; (2) that its statements were not false, because they were based on parliamentary records; and (3) that they were neither "malicious" nor "seditious." The case really involved two great constitutional questions — that of the king's right to the dispensing power, and that of the subject's right of petition. The verdict of "Not guilty" caused great rejoicing throughout London, and even among the soldiers encamped on Hounslow Heath. There were "fires over the whole city, and drinking in every street . . . with the play of fireworks and the discharge of firearms, and the other demonstrations of furious gladness . . . continued during the night." It was now plain, even to James, that he had lost the support of both houses of Parliament, of the universities, of the entire body of Anglican clergy, of the courts, and even of the army.

All this time, William III. of Orange, James's son-in-law, was watching affairs in England with the keenest interest. James's most trusted officers, like Colonel Churchill and the Earl of Sunderland, were engaged in disloyal correspondence with William; and Russell, head of the navy, visited Holland in person to persuade him to assume control in England. The temptation was great, for he needed the assistance of England to accomplish the ruling purpose of his life, the ruin of Louis XIV.'s schemes of conquest. Furthermore,

*Letter of the
Papal
Nuncio.*

440. "The
patriots"
and Wil-
liam III. of
Orange

MONarchs OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, AND THE EMPIRE, 1485-1740
Illustrating "THE SPANISH SUCCESSION", 1700-1714



He therefore negotiated a Partition Treaty with Louis (1700) by which France was to have the Spanish possessions in Italy, and Austria to have the rest, with a few exceptions. In November of the same year, Charles II. died, leaving all his dominions by will to Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. Louis immediately repudiated his treaties with William, and accepted the crown of Spain in behalf of his grandson.

By this time the Tories were once more in control of the English Parliament, and as they supported a peace policy, Louis's action was not for the moment resented. Meanwhile Parliament framed a new Act of Settlement, made necessary by the death of Anne's only remaining child in July, 1700. It decreed that on Anne's death the crown should pass to Sophia, Electress of Hanover (granddaughter of James I.), and to her Protestant heirs in regular succession.

456. The
Act of
Settlement
(1701)

Certain restraints placed upon the monarchy made this act a kind of supplementary bill of rights. (1) Monarchs were not to involve England in war on behalf of their Continental territories; (2) the right of pardon was taken away from them in cases of impeachment of a minister; (3) judges were to hold office for life, unless removed for misconduct on the initiative of Parliament; (4) all persons who held any office or pension from the crown were made ineligible for membership in the House of Commons. A few years later this last restriction was relaxed, so that only holders of newly created offices and pensions were ineligible; and persons who accepted office while members of the House, thus forfeiting their seats, might be immediately reelected if their constituents so desired.

In 1701 Louis XIV. justified William's fears by seizing certain barrier fortresses on the southern boundary of the Spanish Netherlands, and by refusing to recognize Austria's claim to any portion of Spanish territory. September 7, 1701, Austria, Holland, and England formed a Grand Alliance against France for the purpose of defending

457. The
second
Grand Alli-
ance (Sept.
1701)

the Spanish Netherlands, securing for Leopold the Italian possessions of Spain, and preventing the future union of the crowns of France and Spain. On the day before this treaty was signed, James II. died, and Louis outraged the national pride of every Englishman by publicly recognizing his son, young James Stuart, as King James III. of England. In the height of the excitement William shrewdly dissolved Parliament, and in the new election secured a Whig majority to support his war policy; but on March 8, 1702, he died as the result of a fall from his horse, leaving to his sister-in-law Anne the task of supporting Europe against France, and defending her own throne against her half-brother James, whom the Whigs called "the Pretender."

William III. of Orange was undoubtedly one of

**458. Char-
acter of
William III.** the world's great statesmen. Born to

the hereditary stadholdership of Holland, he was deprived of that office through a democratic movement led by the brothers De Witt. From early youth he set himself with cold, grim determination to win back his birthright, showing in his hostility to the De Witts and to Louis XIV. tenacity of purpose, courage, and ceaseless activity. His grasp of affairs



STATUE OF WILLIAM III.

From a bronze at Windsor Castle.

was extraordinary. To him Europe was a chessboard, on which kings, counts, dukes, and electors were made to move from square to square, guided by his unerring skill. In war, although not a great tactician or winner of battles, he was a great strategist. Campaigns, not battles, were his forte; and his least brilliant operations almost always resulted in a net loss to the enemy. His cold, forbidding temper, his absorption in public affairs, his lack of the "milk of human kindness," made him extremely unpopular in England, where he was endured only as a defense against the greater evil of Stuart government, and in recognition of the great work he was carrying on upon the Continent. As the first man to formulate clearly the theory of the "balance of power," he greatly affected the subsequent history of Europe.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 made the monarch again the creature of Parliament (as at the beginning of the Lancastrian, Tudor, and Stuart periods), and the long-standing quarrel over the limits of the royal prerogative was then ended by several acts strictly defining the monarch's powers on disputed points. The judiciary was made independent and the legislature responsible. Long steps were taken in the development of party government under responsible ministers acting as a Cabinet, or committee of the Privy Council.

Broadly speaking, the dividing line between the two parties was now permanently fixed on the basis of agriculture *vs.* manufactures, county *vs.* town. To the landowning Tories, peace, fixity of customs, submission to hereditary rulers, and unity in religion seemed indispensable; to the enterprising city-bred Whigs, a vigorous foreign policy, progress, government by the will of the people, and liberty of worship seemed equally essential. As the Revolution was essentially the expression of the latter spirit, it tended as a whole to make England's policy a Whig policy for many years. In especial,

by giving to England William III. of Orange as her ruler, the Revolution brought England into the midst of Continental entanglements, and ended her brief period of unnatural alliance with her ancient enemy, France. Thenceforth she became a power in European politics, especially because of her powerful navy.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) State some specific acts of the Stuart monarchs which led to particular provisions of the Bill of Rights. (2) How do the terms of the Mutiny Act reinforce the provision in the Bill of Rights regarding a standing army? (3) Compare the treatment of clan Macdonald by the Master of Stair with that of the garrison of Wexford by Cromwell (see § 384). (4) In what ways may a national debt tend to the stability of a government? (5) What light does the organization of the Bank of England throw on the financial conditions in England in 1694? (6) Is the membership of the British Parliament ever entirely renewed? Compare its constitution in this respect with that of the American Congress. (7) With the aid of the tables on pages 127 and 228, show that Parliament did not depart from ancient precedents in making William III. of Orange king of England. (8) Point out what events and present conditions prompted the several provisions of the Acts of Settlement. (9) Was there any good reason why the debates in Parliament should not be printed? (10) Trace the blood relationship between James II. and Louis XIV.

Search topics

(11) The story of Glencoe. (12) Dutchmen who were made peers of England by William III. (13) Admiral Russell and the battle of La Hogue. (14) The Bank of England and the two United States Banks. (15) The Darien expeditions of 1698–1699. (16) Macaulay's estimate of William III. (17) Incidents of the war in America, 1689–1697. (18) Character of Queen Anne. (19) Contemporary opinions of William III. (20) A list of English statutes expressing the liberty of the subject.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

WHIGS VERSUS TORIES (1702-1715)

QUEEN ANNE, the younger daughter of James II., was a very dull, very obstinate, but very well-meaning person. By birth and education a Tory, and an ardent churchwoman, she was never in sympathy with the measures of the Whig ministers whom she had to accept during a part of her reign, and absolutely refused to listen to their arguments for religious toleration. She made the mistake of letting personal friendship influence her official action, but fortunately the wisdom of her advisers saved her from many grave errors. In her reign two forms of the prerogative were applied for the last time: (1) the last veto by a monarch of a

400. Char-
acter of
Queen Anne



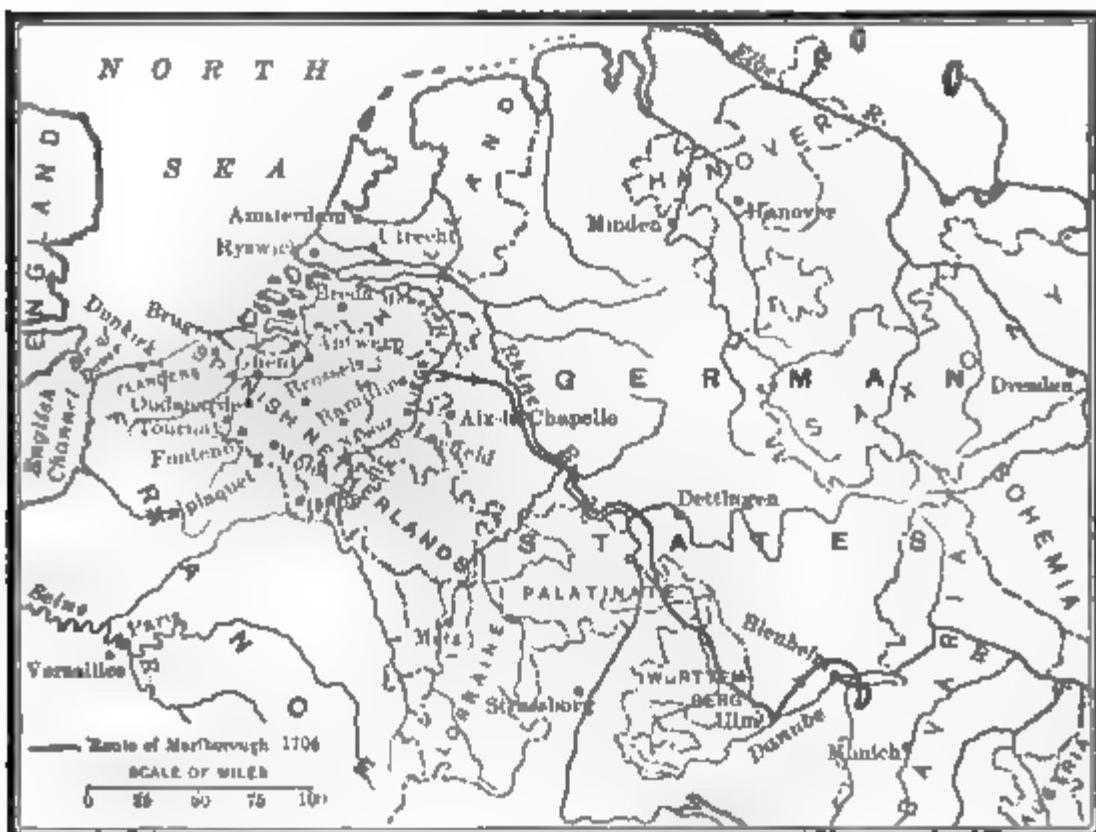
STATUE OF QUEEN ANNE, BEFORE
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.
England, France, Ireland, and America
at her feet.

bill accepted by both houses (1707); and (2) the last exercise of control over Parliament by the creation of enough lords to change the party majority in the upper house (1711). With the two greatest movements of her reign, the War of the Spanish Succession and the revival of English letters, she had no special connection or sympathy.

Anne selected as confidential adviser her girlhood friend, Sarah Jennings, now married to John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough. The countess, a woman of brilliant intellect but violent temper, was given highly paid positions at court, while her husband, the greatest general of the age, was made ambassador to Holland and commander in chief of the English army. For some years Marlborough was practically ruler of England, through the influence of his wife over the queen, and through his own influence over his son-in-law Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer. Both Marlborough and Godolphin began their career as Tories; but as their interests were bound up in the success of the Spanish Succession War (a Whig war), they soon became the acknowledged leaders of the Whig party.

At Anne's accession, in March, 1702, the War of the Spanish Succession had already begun, and the Earl of Marlborough was in command of both the English and the Dutch armies in the Netherlands. The members of the Grand Alliance had a threefold task to perform in Europe: (1) in Spain, their object was to make Charles, Archduke of Austria, king at Madrid; (2) in Italy, they sought to conquer the Spanish provinces of Naples, Sicily, and Milan; (3) on the Rhine, they had to recover the Spanish Netherlands, which had been seized by Louis, to defend Holland, and, if possible, to strike a series of blows at the heart of France, using Germany as a base of operations. Outside of Europe, the sea powers had the task of seizing French and Spanish colonial possessions.

Marlborough first sought to render the Dutch frontier safe from attack. A series of campaigns in 1702 and 1703 put him **468. The campaigns of 1702-1704** in possession of five fortresses which commanded the routes from France into Holland, and the proud and gratified Anne made him Duke of Marlborough. In 1704 Louis formed an alliance with the Elector of Bavaria, intending to invade Austria. Marlborough shrewdly determined to strike a blow before Louis was ready. Advancing



THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS ABOUT 1700.

up the Rhine valley into Bavaria, he united his forces with those of the German allies, and joined battle with the French near the village of Blenheim, where for the first time he revealed his consummate ability as a tactician and a general. The French were utterly routed, and the English nation by vote of Parliament bestowed upon Marlborough the old royal manor of Woodstock, upon which was erected at public expense the magnificent palace of Blenheim.



BLENHEIM CASTLE, WOODSTOCK.

Presented by the government to the Duke of Marlborough.

Throughout the seventeenth century England had been steadily laying the foundations of a great colonial empire, with its necessary accompaniment, a great mercantile marine and a navy. Year by year she absorbed more and more of the fisheries and the carrying trade of the world, and planted continually new trading posts and colonies in remote lands. Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta; Gambia and St. Helena (map, p. 545); thirteen colonies on the continent of North America; Barbados, the Leeward Islands, and the Windward Islands; Rupert's Land, on Hudson Bay;—these form but a part of the long roll of acquisitions. Through the restrictions of the navigation acts the products of all these possessions had to flow through English channels of trade; this monopoly had led to shipbuilding on a vast scale, and gave employment to thousands of merchants, artisans, and sailors.

464. The
war and
England's
sea power

Hence when the Revolution of 1688 put the political power into the hands of the Whigs, England's colonial trade became the controlling motive in their foreign policy. The War of the Spanish Succession was important to England largely because it enabled her to seize commanding naval stations like

Gibraltar (1704) and Minorca (1708), and valuable colonies like Nova Scotia (1711). The first-named stronghold was of vast importance to England's sea power, because it commanded the entrance to the Mediterranean, and because it was a base from which to attack Spain. The annexation of Nova Scotia extended England's colonial empire at the expense of her chief rival.

After 1704 the Continental war was eventful but barren of results. Prince Eugene of Savoy won most of Italy for

465. Tory reaction (1708-1709) the Emperor. Marlborough, in the Low Countries, won repeated victories,—at Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, Tournay, Mons,—forcing his way doggedly toward the French capital. Louis sued repeatedly but unsuccessfully for peace, for the allies were bent on his ruin. Meanwhile in England the Tories were creating a sentiment against Marlborough and the "Whig war." It was said that he was getting rich out of army contracts, and that he was prolonging the war merely to win glory. The queen grew tired of being ruled and scolded by Sarah Jennings, and took to herself another favorite, Mrs. Masham.

The opportunity of the Tories came when the Whig party exposed itself to odium and ridicule by making a foolish at-

466. Fall of the Whigs (1710) tack upon Dr. Sacheverell, a High Church divine, who preached certain sermons against resistance to monarchs.

His impeachment, shortly before the elections of 1710, caused the return of a Tory majority to the lower house. Robert Harley, the cousin of Mrs. Masham, was made chancellor, and Henry St. John, better known by his later title of Lord Bolingbroke, became foreign secretary. The next year, the new ministers caused Marlborough to be dismissed from all his offices on the charge of dishonesty and malfeasance in office; and as there was still in the House of Lords a small majority that favored the war, Harley induced the queen to make a permanent Tory majority by creating twelve new peers.

The new ministers were so anxious to end the war that they began a discreditable negotiation with Louis for a peace directly between England and France, without the knowledge of the other allies. But all parties were now ready for peace; for by several unexpected deaths Charles of Austria became ruler of all the Hapsburg domains, and prospective Emperor; so that to place him upon the throne of Spain would be to destroy that very balance of power for which the war was waged. In the great treaty of Utrecht (March, 1713), Louis XIV. formally recognized the legitimacy of the rule of Queen Anne and of her Protestant successors as prescribed by law, "on the faith, word, and honor of a king," and agreed to expel from France James's son (called by the legitimists "James the Third," and by the Whigs "the Pretender"), and to give him no further assistance. England agreed that Philip of Anjou should become king of Spain, on condition that he abjured all claims upon the French throne for himself and his heirs forever.

467. Close
of the war
(1713)

Perhaps the most important clauses of the treaty related to the colonies. England kept Gibraltar, Minorca, and Nova Scotia, and was confirmed in possession of Newfoundland and the vast fur-bearing territory draining into Hudson Bay (a region which till now had been in dispute between English and French traders). France retained the right to fish in the waters of Newfoundland and to land upon and occupy its western shores for the purpose of drying and curing these fish. England gained treaties of commerce with both France and Spain, and was granted the so-called *Asiento*, or monopoly of the business of furnishing slaves for the Spanish mines and plantations in America. By the terms of the contract England was to supply 4800 negroes yearly to the Spanish colonies for thirty years.

468. Eng-
land's gains
from the
war

During this war occurred the long-delayed union of Scotland and England (to which Wales was already united) into

the single kingdom of Great Britain. Since the accession of James I. (1603) there had been only a "personal union," the

469. Union of England and Scotland (May, 1707) two states having the same monarch, but each having a separate legislature and being ruled under its own constitutional forms; but in 1704 the Scottish Parliament passed an "Act of Security," looking to the designation of some monarch other than the sovereign of England, upon the death of Anne; and thus they forced the English to draw

up a scheme of union.

Rather than have Scotland again wholly independent, the English made most liberal concessions: they agreed that Scotland should share the burden of taxation only in proportion to her wealth (which was about one fortieth that of the rest of the new kingdom); but that she should be entitled

to one twelfth of the total number of representatives in the united Parliament. Whenever a new Parliament was summoned, sixteen Scottish peers were to be chosen to sit in the upper house, and forty-five seats were assigned to Scotland in the House of Commons — thirty for the shires and fifteen for the important towns. The established church of Scotland preserved its independent constitution and organization. The local system of law and justice was retained, but the English system of weights, measures, and coinage was extended over Scotland (1707), which thenceforth was officially styled "North Britain."

In 1714, the year after the treaty of Utrecht, Anne fell seriously ill. Bolingbroke was already planning for the resto-



THE ARMS OF SCOTLAND.

Before the union with England in 1707.

ration of the exiled Stuarts, and the Jacobites hastened to summon the Pretender to England; but Anne's illness reached a critical stage in a single day. Her last official act was the appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury—a Tory, but not a Jacobite—as Lord High Treasurer. Immediately upon her death (August 1, 1714) he caused the Privy Council and Parliament to take the oath of allegiance to Anne's heir, according to the Act of Settlement; and issued a proclamation prohibiting the Pretender from landing in Great Britain. George Louis, Elector of Hanover, was at once proclaimed king of Great Britain, which made any action of the Jacobites in favor of the Pretender technical treason. The conspirators were taken too much by surprise to resort to force; so that although it took five days for the news to reach the new monarch in Hanover, and seven weeks for him to reach England, he found the country quite ready to accept him upon his arrival there.

The new king, George I., was a man fifty-four years old, German born, German in training, German in his phlegmatic character. He was experienced as a soldier and a ruler, but had no liberal education, could not speak a word of English, had no sympathy with English ideas or customs, and showed no desire to become in any sense an Englishman. His sole political programme was to place him-

470. Accession of George I.
(1714)



JACOBITE MEDAL OF 1708.
"Reddite igitur cuius est."¹

471. Effect
of the
change of
dynasty

¹ Translation: Restore, therefore, him to whom it belongs.

self in the hands of those Whig statesmen who had procured his succession to the throne, and under their guidance to perform the routine duties of a monarch.

This state of affairs served to fix once and for all upon England the habit of "cabinet government" — that is, government by a body of ministers, all members of the same party, who (1) act in concert to bring about certain political ends; (2) decide upon and draft all important legislation; and (3) control the various executive departments of the government. Since George was unable to preside at the meetings of his council or even to understand the bills considered at those meetings, the ministers were obliged to look to one of their own number for leadership; and before the end of his reign it had become an established principle that the Cabinet must act as a unit on every party question, under the direction of its "prime" minister.

Immediately upon the accession of George I., the victorious Whigs attempted to punish the Tory leaders who had negoti-

472. Jacobite uprising (1715) ated the treaty of Utrecht. Bolingbroke was obliged to flee to the Continent, whence he plotted a Jacobite uprising in behalf of the Pretender. The conspiracy was poorly planned and poorly executed. Premature uprisings in Scotland under the Earl of Mar, and in Northumberland under the Earl of Derwentwater, were easily crushed, so that when the Pretender landed in Scotland (September 22, 1715), no troops were available for the support of his cause; and after six months of useless struggles to raise an army, he returned to France.

The Whigs, confident in their strength, treated the rebels with great leniency, causing only twenty-five persons to be

473. Confirmation of Whig control executed for treason; but they immediately set to work upon measures to strengthen still further their political power. One of these, the Septennial Bill (1716), changed the time limit of the existing and all subsequent Parliaments from three to seven years. Another, the Peerage Bill (1719),

provided that the monarch should not add more than six to the one hundred and seventy-eight lords then existing — an act designed to keep the monarch from again changing the party majority in the upper house by creating new peers (§ 466); fortunately it failed to pass, because even the Whigs could not agree upon it.

The strife of parties which followed the Revolution helped to develop prose literature. Everybody engaged in criticism of men, of measures, of manners, of morals; but criticism, ^{474. Prose literature of the period} to be effective, must be expressed in terse, pithy, forceful language. Thus the political pamphlet, the periodical essay, the lampoon, all helped to transform English writings from the long, cumbrous, Latinized style used by Milton and his contemporaries to the more simple, direct, and homely style in use to-day. The chief agents in this reform were Defoe, Steele, Addison, and Swift. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was one of the earliest stories of adventure told in simple language and dealing with realistic incidents. Steele and Addison, in periodicals called the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, etc., published more than a thousand brief essays marked by clearness, ease, and charm of expression. Swift was the author of numerous forceful pamphlets, as well as of several satires on the political and social life of the time. The most notable of these is *Gulliver's Travels*, in which human actions are made to seem ignoble when performed by dwarfs and giants.



LETTER BOX AT BUTTON'S COFFEE HOUSE.

See Steele's *Guardian*, No. 78.

**475. Poetry
of the
period**

The poetry of the period had the same qualities as the prose, and dealt with the same practical subjects. From a study of classical models a set of critical principles was evolved, and all verse writers were expected to conform to the standard thus set, in meter, rhyme, and diction. Almost the only verse form used was the ten-syllabled rhymed couplet; and, with its aid, neatness of expression was raised to a fine art under Alexander Pope (1688–1744), the acknowledged head of the new school. Pope's *Rape of the Lock* is a satire on high society, his *Essay on Man* a philosophical treatise in rhyme, his *Essay on Criticism* a versified study of the rules of expression, his *Dunciad* an extended lampoon.

From the labors of these men of genius — both poets and prose writers — the reign of Queen Anne has received its title of the "Augustan Age of English Literature."

**476. Sum-
mary**
**Mahan, In-
fluence of
the Sea
Power upon
History,
225**

From her predecessor Anne inherited a war with France which lasted through most of her reign. The genius of Marlborough made this war a series of triumphs for England, and enabled her at its close to exchange conquered posts near France for more important outlying territories. The acquisition of Nova Scotia and the Hudson Bay country was

a step toward the later acquisition of Canada; with Gibraltar came the control of the Mediterranean route to the East; the Asiento was the opening wedge to freedom of trade with the Spanish colonies in America.

"Before that war England was one of the sea powers; after it she was *the* sea power, without any second."

This war was a Whig war, a Protestant war, waged against Louis XIV., the supporter of Catholicism and of Jacobitism. Therefore party strife ran high, and treasonable plots abounded. To prevent Scotland from returning to her old alliance with France, it was necessary to annex her on most favorable

terms. The principles of Protestantism, of independence from foreign control, of law and order, finally prevailed in Great Britain. At the death of Anne, three changes came about: (1) The crown of Great Britain was transferred to the Hanoverian line. (2) This change marked virtually the end of a century of strife between king and people, resulting in the vesting of the government of Great Britain in the two houses of Parliament. (3) In order to keep the parliamentary government working, the hitherto unorganized Privy Council was transformed into a modern Cabinet under the direction of a Prime Minister.



COSTUME OF A BEAU, 1710.
From a contemporary print.

TOPICS

- (1) How many of Anne's predecessors made the mistake of being guided too much by favorites? (2) Was it fortunate that Anne's most intimate friend was the Duchess of Marlborough? (3) Why do monarchs no longer veto bills passed by Parliament? (4) What is meant by the phrase "Spanish Bourbon monarchs"? (5) Why was it hard to arrange for the union of Scotland with England? (6) What previous instances have we of England's being joined with other states in a "personal union"? (7) Would the national debt of about £50,000,000 incurred in the War of the Spanish Succession favor or hinder the plans of Jacobites? (8) Why has the prime minister generally been either Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or First Lord of the Treasury? (9) Why should Addison, Steele, and Swift all have been appointed to public office? (10) Was Marlborough patriotic?

Search topics

(11) Addison's treatment of the battle of Blenheim in his poem *The Campaign*. (12) Southey's treatment of the same battle in his poem *After Blenheim*. (13) A description of the fortress of Gibraltar. (14) A discussion of the earlier and the present value of Gibraltar to England. (15) Thackeray's account of the Earl of Marlborough in *Henry Esmond*. (16) Agitation about the rights of the French on the west shore of Newfoundland in the last quarter century. (17) Quarrel of Queen Anne and the Duchess of Marlborough.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

WHIG RÉGIMES OF WALPOLE AND PITT (1721-1761)

UNDER George I., and during a part of the reign of George II., the real ruler of Great Britain was Robert Walpole, the younger son of a country gentleman in Norfolk. After the ordinary education of the English gentleman, Walpole entered Parliament when twenty-four years old. He was a man of solid rather than of brilliant abilities: he could boast of no elaborate learning, no refined tastes, no elevated theory of statesmanship, no superior standard of morals; but he was eminently practical, and sincerely anxious to promote the general welfare of the country. He attached himself to the Whig party, worked zealously in its interest, and was rewarded with certain minor offices in the departments of War and of the Navy. In 1710 he shared the downfall of the Whigs, and with his colleagues returned to power at the accession of George I., in 1714. By his opposition to the Peerage Bill he lost standing with his party, but accident soon made him indispensable to the Whigs.

In 1711 the new South Sea Company undertook to get from the government a monopoly of British trade in the Pacific. In 1719 it offered to pay off a large part of the outstanding debt of the British government, with South Sea stock, thus taking the place of the Bank of England as the principal creditor of the government. When the leading Whig ministers gave their support, people supposed the company would be necessarily profitable, and its stock rose to ten times its face value in a very short time. Then followed a panic;

477. Robert Walpole (1676-1745)
478. The South Sea Bubble (1719)

the shares fell from £1000 to £175 in a month; and the indignant investors turned on the statesmen who had misled them. Walpole, whose wisdom in public finance led him to foresee this crisis, now came forward with measures for restoring public credit, was made prime minister, and remained the leader of the Whig party for more than twenty years.

Walpole chose for himself the positions of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury, thus keeping in his

479. Wal- own hands the entire control of the finances of the country. Under his rule the national debt was reduced by **pole's** policy more than £8,000,000. When capital was abundant, he borrowed money at low rates of interest, and used it to pay off debts contracted when money was bringing a higher interest; whenever there was a surplus in the annual revenue, he put it aside at compound interest, as a "sinking fund" for the final payment of the debt.

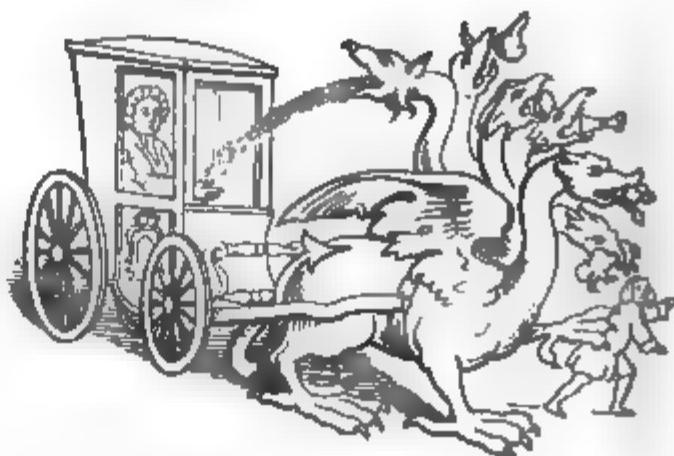
Walpole's political policy was to maintain peace until the nation should recover from the long strain of the War of the Spanish Succession, and until the Hanoverian king should be firmly seated. Finding that Spain was plotting to recover her lost territories, he concluded an alliance with France (now under a regency), Holland, and Austria, thus making peace inevitable. He expended immense sums in bribing the representatives of foreign powers, out of what was known as the "Secret Service Fund." At home, too, he relied largely upon bribery to maintain his influence over the Commons, in spite of the fact that his Whig supporters controlled so many parliamentary boroughs that the Opposition party remained in a hopeless minority.

480. Wal- George II., who succeeded George I. in 1727, was as thor-
pole's ca-oughly German as his father in character and habits,
reer under but was familiar with the English language, and took
George II. more immediate interest in the government. He was a
(1727-1743) hot-tempered little man, a soldier by training, unculti-

vated, but very conceited. Although he disliked Walpole, he was influenced by his wise queen (Caroline of Anspach) to continue the great minister in power.

In this period, however, Walpole steadily lost in popularity, for (as his son said of him) "he loved power so much that he could endure no rival." The abler Whigs were by degrees driven out of office through his domineering temper; some of them helped to form a new Tory party under Bolingbroke, the old Jacobite leader, and Frederick, Prince of Wales, who amused himself by leading a parliamentary clique against his father. Others built up a Whig opposition party known as the "Patriots." Walpole sneered at the term, and declared that he "could make a Patriot by merely refusing an unreasonable request," but the opposition grew daily, because people in general did not understand either his financial or his political policy. As the ordinary import duties on tobacco and wine were systematically evaded by smuggling, Walpole proposed in 1733 to lay excise duties on the manufacture of liquors, which would increase the revenue without seriously increasing the burden upon the nation; but the bill proved so unpopular with the ignorant classes that he was obliged to abandon it. The death of Queen Caroline (1737) deprived him of a strong champion at court.

In preserving peace and fostering trade, Walpole was following the spirit of the times, for the nation was eager to extend



WALPOLE'S EXCISE DEVOURING THE LABORER
TO PRODUCE REVENUE.

Caricature on a fan, 1732.

its foreign commerce. The colonies planted in America under the Stuarts, from Maine to the Carolinas, were doubling in

481. Friction with Spain over colonial trade population every quarter of a century; English merchants were continually breaking through the trade barriers erected by Spain, Holland, and France, and were planting trading stations both in the far East and the far West. The foundation of the American colony of Georgia (1732), which encroached on Spanish Florida, showed the "forward tendency" of Great Britain; while the persistent smuggling of goods into the Spanish American colonies showed the determination of English merchants to ignore Spanish trade laws. The Spaniards were thus led to use the "right of search" of British vessels on the high seas; and this violation of the sovereign rights of Great Britain brought about the war which caused the fall of Walpole.

The final cause of the war gave to it the name of the "War of Jenkins's Ear." In 1731 a Spanish officer in the Gulf of

482. "War of Jenkins's Ear" (1739-1740) Mexico boarded a smuggling vessel commanded by a certain Captain Jenkins, and after a most insulting interview caused the captain's ear to be cut off, bidding him show it to his king as a warning of what other English smugglers might expect. In 1738 Jenkins brought his ear to England in a tin box, and told his story to a committee of Parliament. The tale created great excitement throughout England; the hostility of Spain steadily increased; and in October, 1739, Walpole was obliged to declare war. Though he had struggled desperately to avoid war, the defeats in its early stages were laid to his charge; in 1742 he found himself unable to command a majority in Parliament, and retired from office. He received a pension of £4000 a year and was raised to the peerage as Earl of Orford, and died three years later.

In 1740 fleets under Admirals Anson and Vernon were sent out to seize Spanish colonial ports. Anson sailed entirely

around the world, doing great harm to Spanish shipping; but Vernon failed in his attempts to gain control of Cuba or of the Isthmus of Panama. For the rest, the fighting consisted mainly of privateering expeditions. In one year six hundred prizes were taken, and the Spanish colonial merchant fleet was swept from the seas.

A year and a day after the declaration of war, came the death of the Emperor, Charles VI. of Austria; and the minor contest was at once merged into a great European struggle known as the War of the Austrian Succession. Charles had induced the various European states to approve a document called the Pragmatic Sanction, by the terms of which his daughter Maria Theresa was to inherit his Austrian dominions; but Prussia (under the famous Frederick the Great), Bavaria, and France combined to rob the queen of her inheritance, Great Britain alone remaining loyal to her word.

483. War
of the Aus-
trian Suc-
cession
(1740-1748)

Most of the contest which followed belongs to Continental rather than to English history; but it marks an important stage in the long fight for colonial empire between France and Great Britain. These two powers became heads of great leagues: Great Britain was allied with Holland, Sardinia, Austria, and Saxony; France was supported by Prussia, Bavaria, Spain, and Russia. The aim of England and Holland was to safeguard their commerce and colonies by holding the supremacy of the sea; France sought to build up Prussia and Bavaria at the expense of the Hapsburgs, to rob the British monarch of his Hanoverian possessions, and to conquer the Netherlands.

On the Continent the English won a brilliant victory over the French at Dettingen (1743) in Germany, and suffered two as signal defeats, one at Fontenoy (1745) while defending the Austrian Netherlands against a French attack, and a second at Laeffeld (1747), in the same

484. Lead-
ing events
of the war

region. In America, the fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island was captured by the New England colonists (1745). On the sea the weak French navy was practically destroyed in two minor combats during the year 1747. Though the next year France almost secured the Netherland territories which had been the goal of so many contests, Spain and Russia threatened to desert her; she was losing ground in her American colonial possessions, she was on the verge of financial collapse, and she found herself unable to seize the long-coveted prize. She therefore agreed to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), by which all conquests were restored in Europe and elsewhere.

In the midst of this war France tried to disturb the Hanoverian government by helping the Jacobites.

425. Jacobite rising (1745)

The Old Pretender was so intemperate that he was unfit for an active campaign, but his son Charles James Edward Stuart (known as "the Young Pretender") landed in Scotland in July, 1745, with seven followers, while a French force of 15,000 men stood ready to cross to England at the first favorable moment. As so often before in English history, the winds fought for England, driving the



ROUTE OF THE YOUNG PRETENDER,
1745.

French transports on shore, and compelling delay until fresh ones could be provided. "Evidently," said the French commander, "the winds are not Jacobites."

Meanwhile the Pretender rallied to his standard 10,000 Scotchmen, mostly Highlanders, and captured Edinburgh, thus securing a supply of arms. After waiting in vain for the French, he invaded England by the western route through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. When he reached Derby (only one hundred and twenty-seven miles from London) he found himself threatened by three armies, from the south, north, and east respectively. His own forces were greatly diminished by desertion, and he had to retreat northward. After skirmishes at Penrith and Bannockburn, his army was finally defeated and dispersed at the battle of Culloden (April 16, 1746). For five months Charles wandered over Scotland as a fugitive without betrayal by his loyal adherents, although a reward of £30,000 was placed upon his head. He was then received on board a French frigate, and ultimately found a refuge at Rome, where he died in 1788, after a long career of drunkenness and vice.

Severe punishment was inflicted upon those who took part in this uprising. Three peers and seventy-three commissioned officers were executed, and many of the rebels were transported to America; but after a year and two months an Act of Indemnity was passed for most of the survivors of the rebellion. It was determined, however, that the Scottish Highlands should no longer be left in a condition which invited Jacobite intrigues. The Highlanders were forbidden to organize military forces, and to wear their peculiar dress, which fostered their clannish and alien spirit. The peculiar jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs, which had outlived almost all other remnants of feudalism in Great Britain, was abolished. Strangely enough, it was found that the best way of pacifying the Highlands was to enroll Highlanders for the

486. Results of the Jacobite uprising

military service of England, in special regiments, thus allowing free play to their fighting instincts.

In 1753 hostilities were revived between the British and

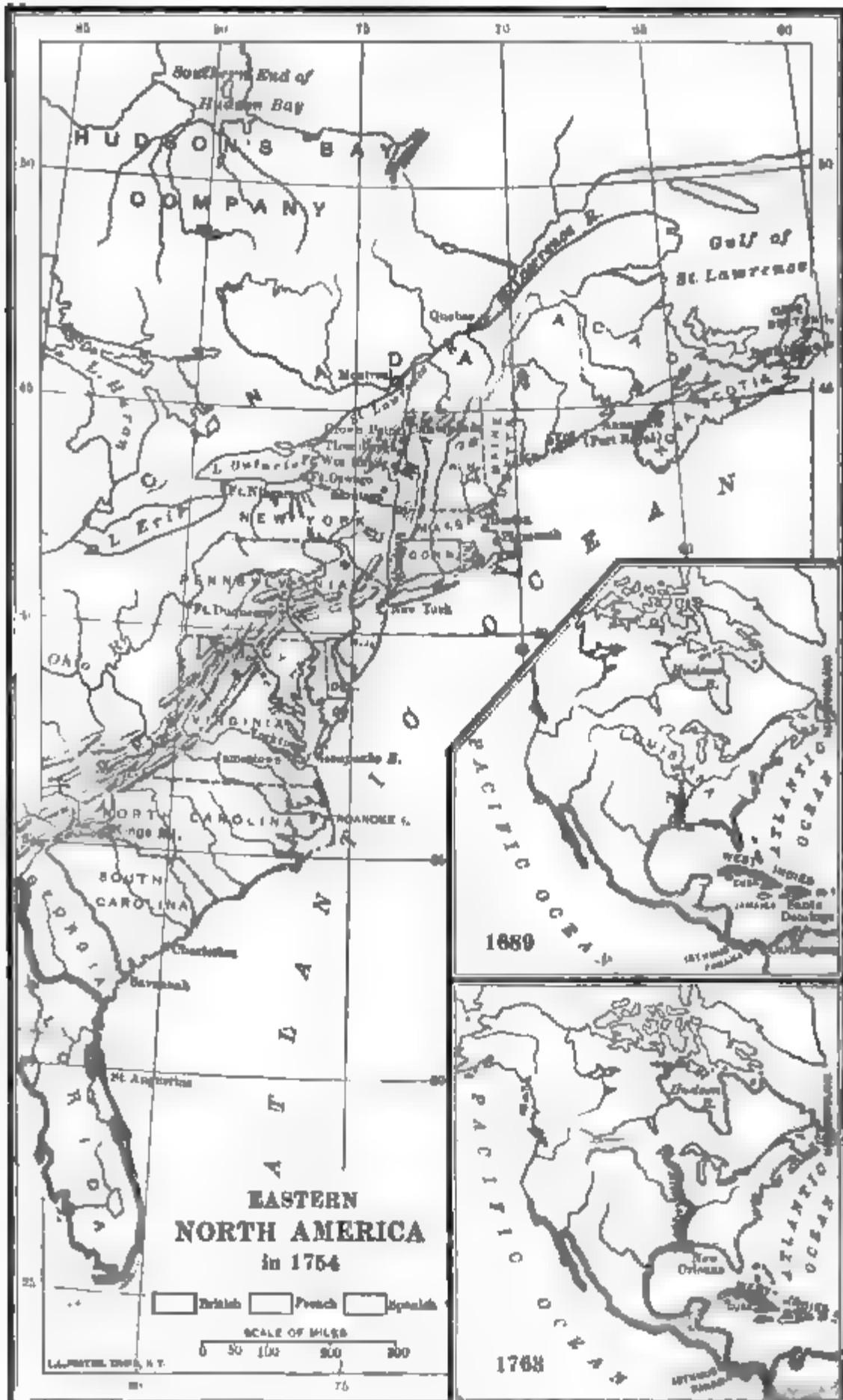
437. Eng- French colonies, which land and resulted in the so-called France in American French and Indian War America (1753-1763) (1754-1760) in America, and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in Europe. The French, by virtue of their early explorations, claimed all the Mississippi basin from the Appalachian watershed westward, and built a line of forts to defend their claim. The British colonists, however, formed a company to settle the Ohio valley, and the first clash of arms took place about fifty miles southeast of Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg (July 4, 1754).

Within a year the two parent nations had drifted into a condition of war, though without any formal proclamation. Campaigns were planned: (1) against Fort Duquesne, to control access to the Ohio valley; (2) against Niagara, to cut off Canada from Ohio; (3) against Crown Point, and thence to Quebec. The first expedition, under Braddock, failed through unskillful generalship; the second was abandoned after a futile advance to Oswego, on Lake Ontario; and the third resulted only in the building of Fort William Henry by the British and of Ticonderoga by the French.

Meanwhile Maria Theresa, smarting under concessions made to Frederick the Great during the Austrian Succession War, was intriguing with France to crush Prussia, and to gain to



ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S HIGHLANDERS.



her side not only France but also Saxony and Russia. Great
488. Prep- Britain, unwilling to see France enriched, and anxious to
ration for protect the Hanoverian possessions of George II., threw
the Seven
Years' War in her lot with Prussia, and thus the French and Indian
War merged into the great Seven Years' War.

The crisis of the war brought into prominence a new statesman of the first rank, William Pitt, who, as Secretary of State
489. Policy in the ministries nominally headed by Devonshire and
of William Newcastle, really directed the war. Pitt first set himself
Pitt to work to change the conditions of Whig power. He gave up bribery, and appealed directly to the sentiment of nationality and loyalty in the English people, and thus he secured a Parliament more nearly representing the English people. He reorganized the army, replacing inefficient officers appointed through favor with others selected for merit alone. Perceiving that the colonial struggles were of vastly more importance than that on the Continent (where the greatest victories led to no territorial changes of importance), Pitt engaged Frederick the Great of Prussia to defend Hanover for a subsidy of £670,000 a year, and threw all his energies into the conquest of Canada and of India. In only one Continental battle, that of Minden (1759), did the British take any important part.

Beginning with the year 1756, when war was formally declared, events in America at first proved favorable to France,

490. The for the French gained control of the lake routes into the
Seven Hudson valley by capturing Fort Oswego and Fort Wil-
Years' War, liam Henry. Soon the tide turned. In 1758 Generals
western Amherst and Wolfe captured Louisburg, the Gibraltar of
phase North America. Forts Duquesne, Niagara, and Ticon-
(1756-1762) deroga fell within a year; and in September, 1759, General Wolfe made the famous attack upon Quebec which resulted in its capture, and in the death of both commanders, Wolfe and Montcalm. A year later Montreal also surrendered, and all Canada passed into the possession of the British. Mean-

while the destruction of a French fleet which was preparing for an invasion of England left the British free to use their fleets in any quarter of the globe. In the next three years, many islands of the French West Indies were captured; and when Spain came to the assistance of France, the British seized both Cuba and the Philippines (1762).

Meanwhile in India a like struggle was going on. England and France had long been waging a contest for the possession of that country, and for the monopoly of trade in the East. India may be considered as consisting of two geographical regions: Hindustan in the north and the Dekkan peninsula in the south. Hindustan contained a Mohammedan empire with its capital at Delhi; the Dekkan contained the strong Hindu state of the Mahrattas in the northwest, and in the east and south several practically independent principalities, nominally subject to the Great Mogul of the Mohammedan empire. The East India Company held three posts on the coast of India: (1) Fort St. George (the nucleus of Madras, in the Carnatic), by cession from the native ruler of that region; (2) Bombay, by cession from Portugal as the dowry of Charles II.'s wife; (3) Fort William at Calcutta, by direct cession from the Mogul. The French also had trading posts at Pondicherry, near Madras,



491. Conditions in the far East
THE FIRST BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

and at Chandernagar, near Calcutta, and they were constantly intriguing with the native princes to expel the British.

On the outbreak of the Seven Years' War came a terrible cruelty at Calcutta. Incited by the French, the native viceroy **492. The** of Bengal attacked the East India Company's trading **winning of** station at that point, seized its property, and shut up the **India** **(1757-1761)** British residents, 146 in number, in a close, unventilated prison (since known as the "Black Hole of Calcutta"), where, during the night, 122 died from heat and suffocation. The news of this atrocity speedily reached Robert Clive, the governor of Fort St. George. With a force of 900 Europeans and 1500 native soldiers from the Carnatic, Clive hastened to Calcutta and recaptured Fort William; then he advanced northward, and completely routed the viceroy's army of 50,000 soldiers in the battle of Plassey, on June 23, 1757.

This battle determined the fate of northern India and ultimately of the Mogul Empire, for Clive placed over the province of Bengal a ruler subservient to himself, other officers later pursued a like policy, and the East India Company at last found itself responsible for the government of nearly all India. In 1761, the capture of Pondicherry destroyed France's hope of domination in India; she could not hold India because Great Britain had control of the sea.

In the midst of the Seven Years' War, George II. died (October 25, 1760), and was succeeded by his grandson, George

493. The III. The new king disliked Pitt and soon forced him **peace of** from office; and Bute, his successor, hastened to end the **Paris** war by the peace of Paris (1763). As Pitt had foreseen, no territorial changes were made on the Continent, but both the far East and the far West were utterly transformed. Spain was obliged to purchase the restoration of Cuba and the Philippines by ceding Florida to Great Britain. France ceded to Great Britain all her possessions in the mainland of North America east of the Mississippi and north of New Orleans,

together with Cape Breton Island (which controlled access to the St. Lawrence), and retained only the two little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, east of Cape Breton. By a treaty made a year earlier she transferred to Spain (in requital for her losses as the ally of France) New Orleans and all the territory of Louisiana west of the Mississippi. As a concession to French pride certain islands in the West Indies and her trading posts in India were restored to her.

The reigns of the first two Hanoverian kings covered the period of Whig power under Robert Walpole and the first William Pitt. Walpole's problem was to prevent disturbing activity at home or abroad. "He probably displayed true wisdom in allowing all reforms . . . to remain for a time in abeyance. The one thing which England required was rest . . . to give stability to the changes which had been going on." The twenty eventless years of his rule were a period of recuperation and of material progress, but the standard of public morality was woefully debased by his unblushing system of bribery. Pitt, on the other hand, was the champion of action—of reforms at home and of expansion abroad. His sagacity and energy, together with British supremacy on the sea, gave to Great Britain Canada and the western slope of the Appalachians, and made possible Clive's victories in India. His dismissal in favor of Lord Bute was the initial blunder of that much blundering monarch, George III.

494. Summary
Bright, History of England, III.
985.

TOPICS

- (1) What does the South Sea Bubble show regarding England's prosperity in 1719? (2) Why are excise duties more unpopular than customs? (3) Which are the more productive? (4) Account for the practice of raising prime ministers to the peerage on their retirement from office. (5) What is meant by the "right of search"? (6) Conflicts between France and the Hapsburg rulers previous to the War of the Austrian Succession. (7) Make a list of England's territorial acquisitions from 1663 to 1763.

Suggestive topics

Search topics

(8) The Bourbon "Family Compacts." (9) The story of "Wood's Half-pence." (10) The battle of Fontenoy. (11) The American colonies in the War of the Austrian Succession. (12) Some Jacobite songs. (13) Pitt as an orator. (14) The "Rule of 1756." (15) Life on a privateer. (16) The battle of Quebec. (17) The Young Pretender in England.

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CHAPTER XXX.

GEORGE III. AND THE NEW ABSOLUTISM (1763-1789)

CLOSE upon Great Britain's great struggle for colonial power, followed problems of both internal and colonial government. King George III., the first Hanoverian monarch of English birth, was unintelligent, narrow, obstinate. Waldegrave, appointed his governor in 1756, says, "I found his Royal Highness uncommonly full of princely prejudices, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bed-chamber women, and pages of the back stairs." His one idea was to substitute for the existing system of government by ministers, the personal rule enjoyed by the Tudors and the early Stuarts. "George, be a king," his mother had reiterated, while trying to form his character along kingly lines; and George was determined not only to be a king, but to be the king. He knew that parliamentary support could be bought; and he early set to work to substitute direct royal patronage for that of the Whig ministers.

To understand why Parliament could be bought, we must consider why the voice of Parliament was no longer the voice of the nation. In theory, Parliament consisted of a body of freely elected representatives of the people, and a more conservative body of

495. Policy
of George
III.
*Walde-
grave's
Memoirs,
1766*



GEORGE III. ABOUT 1765.
Wearing badge of the Order of the Garter. From a painting by Beechy.

496. Parlia-
ment and
representa-
tion

hereditary peers, who were supposed to be profoundly interested in the welfare of the country because of their great landed possessions; and, in theory, the two bodies, after extended and free discussion, registered in their votes their best judgment on public issues.

In fact, the borough members of the lower house represented a limited number of towns which had been made parliamentary boroughs at the discretion of various monarchs, often for purely political ends; and the county members represented only the local magnates, since the suffrage was based

Bright, History of England, III. 1179 on landholding. "The government," said the lord justice in court, "is made up of the landed interest; as for the rabble who have nothing but personal property, what hold

has the nation on them?" The Whig peers were masters of a large majority of the parliamentary boroughs, so that the House of Commons represented not the people but the House of Lords over again. Those places which were absolutely controlled by a single person were called his "pocket boroughs," and the defenders of the system pointed with pride to the large number of able public servants, like Pitt, Burke, and Fox, whose first entrance into Parliament was as representative of some pocket borough.

When George III. became king, the system of corruption gained new force. Great families like the Pelhams and the

497. The confusion of nations Cavendishes could bribe ambitious politicians with nominations to their pocket boroughs, or with money; but parties

the king could give them lucrative and honorable posts, pensions, and even peerages. More than half of the members of the lower house held such positions, and by the end of the Seven Years' War a new Tory party had sprung up, accepting the king as its political leader, and voting blindly at his dictation. Against this government by "the king's friends," the Whigs could present only a divided opposition. One party, led by the Marquis of Rockingham, advocated a pure, upright,

patriotic government; a second group, under the Duke of Bedford, preferred the old policy of bribery; a third, under George Grenville, took an independent attitude, and clamored for economy in government, a virtue which neither Whigs nor Tories could boast. A fourth group, centering about the brilliant but now erratic Pitt, found its bond of union in personal loyalty to their chief rather than in clearly defined principles.

Two months after the treaty of Paris of 1763, Bute's unpopularity led to his resignation; and as Pitt and the king were hopelessly at odds, inferior men took up the task of government. In an effort to raise a revenue from the colonies, Grenville caused the passage of the Stamp Act (1765), which raised in America a tempest of opposition.

496. *The taxation of America*

Rockingham carried a resolution asserting Parliament's right to tax (1766), and then secured the repeal of the Stamp Act, "as a practical admission that the right in question should be exercised only in cases where the colonies did not object."

Yet Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Cabinets of Chatham (Pitt) and Grafton, renewed the attempt to tax the colonies in his import duties on glass, tea, etc. (1767). The new *Trevelyan, The Ameri-*



"BRITAIN'S STATE PILOT FOUNDERING ON TAXATION ROCK."

From a caricature of Lord North, June, 1779.

storm thus raised in America was so great that North, who succeeded Grafton in 1770, was forced to repeal most of the clauses of the Townshend Act; but the king and his spokesmen in Parliament felt that to give up taxing the colonies was simply yielding to rebellion, and North, against his own judgment, gratified the king by retaining a nominal tax

can Revolution, I. 29

on tea. The attempts to enforce this duty in the face of determined opposition led at last to war.

In this contest over taxation, the arguments of the home government were: (1) that the expeditions against Duquesne, Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Quebec during the Seven Years' War were undertaken to secure territory for the development of the colonies; (2) that an army of ten thousand men must now be maintained in America solely for the defense of the colonists; (3) that it was only just that the colonists should contribute toward the support of this army; (4) that it was for the home government to fix the share which the colonies should pay, and to levy it by direct taxation.

The colonists replied that this group of arguments was a palpable misrepresentation of the actual facts. They declared: (1) that Great Britain defended her colonies simply because they were necessary to her commercial prosperity; (2) that the expenses recently incurred represented virtually the necessary insurance on British commerce; (3) that taxation without representation in Parliament was unconstitutional, and such representation was impracticable; (4) that, in any case, England had only to ask the colonies for financial aid, and it would be voted through their representative assemblies. To this the home government replied that experience proved that it was impracticable to secure united action by the whole body of colonies, since each colony refused or neglected to contribute unless its own interests were in danger.

Within Parliament there were many opinions. Grenville stood by the principle that Parliament possessed a complete right to tax whenever necessary. Three fourths of the Commons followed Grenville and the king in a blind determination to maintain this principle at any cost. "In this season and on America," said the historian Gibbon, "the Archangel Gabriel would not be heard." Nevertheless, a few wiser men still strove to bring Parliament to reason.

Burke urged that theory had no place in the argument; that if the colonists should be driven to revolt against the mother country, it would cause a greater financial loss than in many such wars as that recently ended; so that for practical reasons everything ought to be done to conciliate the embittered colonists. Pitt declared that Parliament would sooner or later be compelled to retract the hated laws, and argued that a sharp distinction should be drawn between taxation for revenue (which he opposed), and taxation for regulating trade in favor of British commerce (which he defended). Grafton and North also wished to recede from the position into which Townshend had led the minority, but the king was inflexible. He controlled both the Cabinet and the Parliament; he insisted that the rebels must be forced to submit; and the result was war.

The truth is, that either a forcible or a peaceful revolution in the relations of Great Britain and America was now inevitable, because the ancient theories about commerce and colonies no longer corresponded with the facts. These theories held: (1) that all land acquired by settlement or by conquest belonged to the king; (2) that English citizens were allowed to settle in these lands and cultivate them, on the tacit condition that part of the profits should revert to the king; and (3) that the king was bound to prevent their commerce and manufacturing industries of all sorts from interfering with similar industries in England.

501. The
real charac-
ter of the
struggle

Since many industries in England were carried on under monopolies created by the monarch, the home government made the mistake of restricting those industries in the American colonies; and it made a still greater mistake in the long series of navigation acts, and in the restrictions on trade and markets enforced by the Board of Trade, which at that time had control of colonial affairs. Thus trade and manufactures in the colonies were already groaning under heavy burdens when

the Townshend acts fused into a single issue the two questions of trade restriction and of taxation. But time had already determined the issue of the whole matter. Economic laws, more powerful than princes or parliaments, declare that three millions of people can not be compelled to trade in the dearest and most remote market, or to buy what they can more cheaply and easily manufacture.

While Parliament was busily championing its right to levy taxes, and ignoring the question of expediency, riots in America, non-importation agreements, and the collection of munitions of war were proving the seriousness of the situation. Even Lord North decided (March, 1775) to abandon the attempt to tax, in the case of any colony that should voluntarily appropriate the money required for its own defense and government; but the news of this bill arrived in the colonies too late, for blood had been shed at Lexington (April 19, 1775). As the War of the American Revolution is usually treated as an important epoch in United States history, its details are here omitted; the aim being merely to make clear its significance as an episode in English history.

During the progress of this war, Great Britain was much hampered by Continental complications, and particularly by the steady hostility of France. A year after the outbreak of the war, France, which had again built up her navy, began by secret loans to encourage the American colonies, partly in revenge for her losses during the Seven Years' War, partly in the hope of destroying Great Britain's commercial monopoly in the West Indies. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, urged the government to concede to the colonists all of their demands short of independence, and to withdraw all troops in America for use against France, the real foe of England; Rockingham, Burke, and Fox also pleaded the cause of the colonists, but in vain.

The defeat of the British under General Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1777 caused North to hasten to pass a Conciliation Bill on the lines laid down by Chatham (February, 1778). He was again too late, for France at once formed an open alliance with the revolted colonies, on the single condition that they should never again acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain (February, 1778). In 1779 Spain also declared war against Great Britain with the idea of recovering Gibraltar, and in 1780 Russia organized a league of the northern states to maintain an armed neutrality. This was a plan for resisting Great Britain's attempt to exercise the right of searching neutral vessels for contraband of war. Holland carried her resistance so far that in 1780 Great Britain declared war upon her also.

It was the danger from the fleets of these powerful enemies that kept Great Britain from throwing an overwhelming force into America, blockading her principal ports, and crushing the rebellion by mere force of numbers. "We have now come to . . . a truly maritime war, which . . . had not been seen since the days of De Ruyter and Tourville. Waged, from the extended character of the British Empire, in all the quarters of the globe at once, the attention of the student is called now to the East Indies, now to the West; now to the shores of the United States, and thence to those of England; from New York and Chesapeake Bay to Gibraltar and Minorca, to the Cape Verde Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon." France had about eighty first-class vessels, Spain about sixty, Great Britain about a hundred and fifty; but Great Britain had by far the greater number of remote and vulnerable possessions, each of which required a squadron for its defense.

The critical naval event of the war was the coöperation of the French admiral De Grasse with Washington and Lafayette in the operations that ended at Yorktown. In 1781 Lord

504. Naval
phase of the
Revolution-
ary War
*Mahan, In-
fluence of
Sea Power
on History,*
338

Cornwallis, on whose campaign in the southern colonies all England's hopes in America rested, allowed himself to be 505. ~~End of~~ penned in at Yorktown, expecting to receive supplies and the Revolutionary War reinforcements from the British fleet under Admiral Graves. De Grasse's French fleet of 28 ships blocked (1781-1782) the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, however, and easily repelled the relieving squadron of 19 ships. As a result, Cornwallis was obliged to surrender, October 18, 1781.

This disaster was followed by the capture of Minorca by the Spanish fleet, and of many of the British West Indies 506. ~~Treaty of Versailles~~ by the French fleet. The home government was obliged reluctantly to accept the fact of defeat; North gave way (1783) to Rockingham (later succeeded by Shelburne); and negotiations for peace were begun in 1782, first with the American colonists, and later with France and Spain. The brilliant victory of Admiral Rodney in the West Indies (April, 1782), and the successful defense of Gibraltar against



GIBRALTAR

a desperate attack (November, 1782) enabled the British commissioners to obtain better terms than might have been expected. Great Britain, of course, lost the territory occupied by the revolted colonies—extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, south of the Great Lakes. She ceded to Spain Florida and the island of Minorca; and made various exchanges with France of territory in the West Indies, in Africa, and in India. She also conceded to France the right to fortify the dismantled fortress of Dunkirk.

Throughout the American fight for freedom, an agitation for political reforms had been going on in England, led by Burke, who wanted sinecure offices abolished, and by Chatham, who demanded the disfranchisement of pocket, now called "rotten," boroughs (§ 496). But reform depended on the education of the people through criticism of the existing government in the press, and the freedom of the press was really the outcome of the Wilkes episode, which lasted from 1763 to 1769. Wilkes was a member of Parliament, and also the editor of a publication called the *North Briton*. In the forty-fifth number of that periodical (April, 1763) appeared an editorial in which the king's speech to Parliament was severely criticised; and Grenville was persuaded by the king to prosecute the author, the printers, and the publishers of the article. Wilkes claimed the parliamentary privilege of exemption from arrest, and the king in his wrath induced the Commons to expel Wilkes from the House on the ground that the obnoxious No. 45 was a libel against the government.

London, and in a sense the whole nation, took up the cause of Wilkes as a champion of popular rights against arbitrary rule, and a long contest followed in which Wilkes was repeatedly elected to Parliament, and as often expelled. The Commons finally declared Wilkes ineligible for election to Parliament. The excitement was intense. Mobs paraded the streets of London, shouting "Wilkes and Liberty!"

507.

Wilkes and
the freedom
of the press

508.

Wilkes and
the freedom
of election

An able anonymous writer (probably Sir Philip Francis), under the assumed name of "Junius," virulently attacked the government for attempting to limit the freedom of elections. "Remember," wrote Junius to George III., "that while the crown was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another." In 1774, on Wilkes's fifth election to Parliament, the Commons permitted him to take his seat.

This whole affair helped to train the people in united action. It developed the custom of holding mass meetings of the pop-
509. Grow- ular to discuss and agitate reforms, and to bring
ing power pressure to bear upon Parliament by petitions and
of the otherwise; and in general it encouraged the majority,
people who had hitherto accepted the control of a minority, to assert their rights. The agitation connected with the Wilkes case, and especially the caustic and merited criticism of writers like Junius, showed the people how badly they were being governed, and how important it was that the servants of the people should be closely watched. In 1771 Parliament attempted to check public criticism of its actions by an attack upon a newspaper publisher named Miller, who had called a member of Parliament "a paltry insignificant insect"; but the attack failed, and, from that time on, the publication of the proceedings of Parliament, and newspaper criticisms upon those proceedings made in good faith, were unrestricted.

In 1780 Parliament so far bent to the demand for reform as to pass a resolution that "the influence of the crown has
510. Col- increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished";
lapse of the but in a few months all hope of sweeping reforms van-
reform ished as a result of the Gordon riots (June, 1780).

These were caused by a genuine reform measure—an act to relieve Roman Catholics of certain political disabilities dating from the Revolution of 1688—which inflamed the bigotry and intolerance of the masses. Under the lead of Lord George Gordon, a monster petition was prepared; mobs

formed; and for six days riots raged in London and various other localities. They were suppressed only with very great difficulty, and caused widespread fear of placing power in the hands of the lower classes.

As soon as peace with America was assured, the progressive Whig leaders again took up the question of reforms. Ireland was becoming desperate over British restrictions on her trade, and demanded that the Irish Parliament be given the sole power to legislate for Ireland. In 1779, on motion of Charles James Fox (the friend of Ireland as of America), an act was passed repealing the Poynings Law (§ 286), thus restoring to the Irish the right of self-government. India, too, demanded attention; for the greed of the East India Company and the evils of its system of government were producing terrible results. Warren Hastings, made governor of Bengal in 1772, was greatly hampered by the hostility of his council, the intrigues of his native subjects, and the attacks of outlying tribes. He was consequently tempted into various acts of extortion. In 1783 Fox, in coöperation with Burke, introduced a bill for the better government of India, but it was defeated in the House of Lords through the influence of the king. As a result of this failure, the ministry resigned, and the younger Pitt became prime minister (December, 1783)

William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, was twenty-five years old in 1783. He was not so great an orator as his father, but he was a greater financier, a better leader of men, and in every way saner in judgment. Before he became prime minister he was earning only £300 a year as a barrister; yet he refused an office worth £5000 a year because he was determined never to accept a subordinate situation. When invited by the king to form a ministry, he had but a handful of supporters in the House, and his measures were repeatedly voted down; but his courage and his

ability won the admiration of Parliament, and after weeks of fighting he defeated his enemy, Fox, and built up a new Tory

party which held a long lease of power.

Within a year of his appointment, Pitt carried through Parliament an India Bill under which India was governed until 1858. This bill divided the responsibility for the proper government of India between the East India Company and a board of control composed of members of the Privy Council. Hastings, who had returned to England under a cloud, was now im-



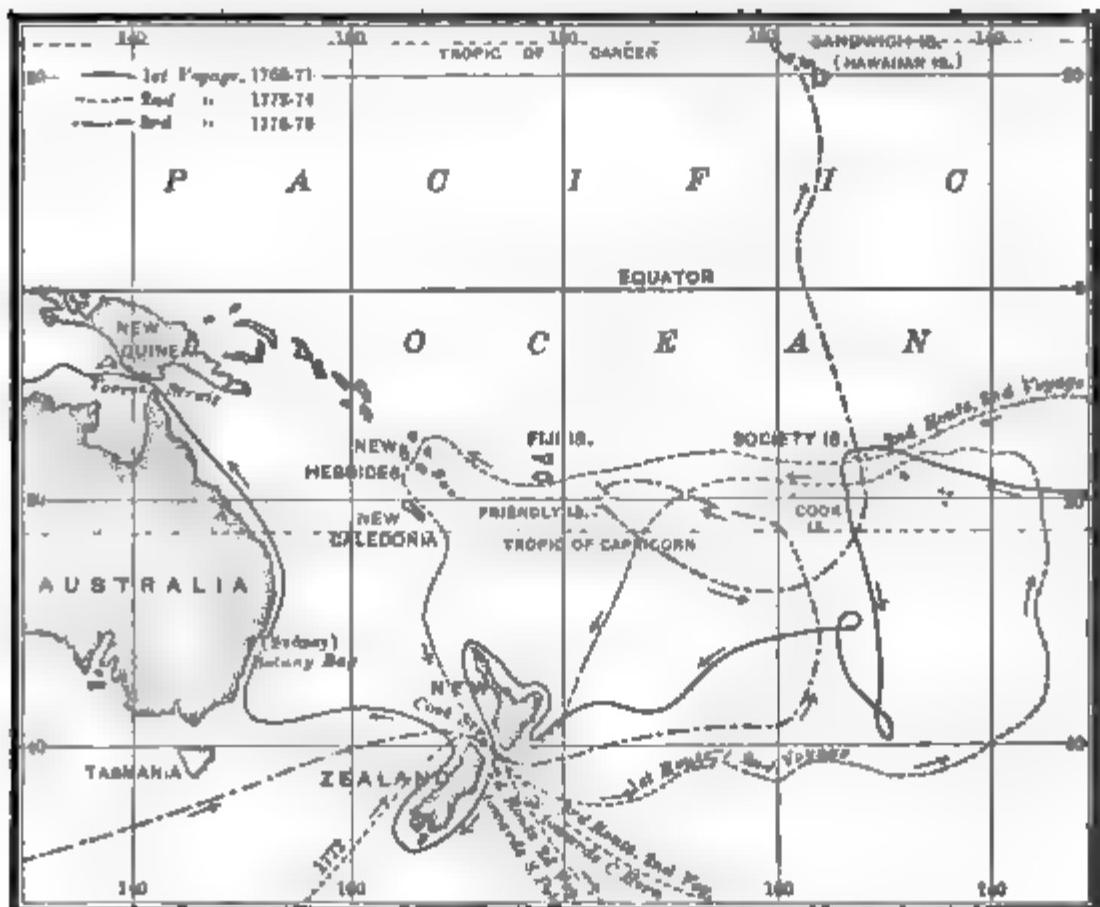
THE YOUNGER WILLIAM Pitt AT THE
AGE OF 30.

Portrait by Gainsborough.

peached for alleged oppression in India; but after a trial lasting from 1788 to 1796, he was acquitted.

During the years 1768–1779 memorable discoveries were made by Captain James Cook, whose daring and enterprise

**513. Acqui-
sition of
Australia** recall the work of the Elizabethan explorers. He sailed twice around the world, and each time made extensive explorations in the southern Pacific. He surveyed and charted the coasts of eastern Australia, New Zealand, and lesser islands, and, by taking possession of the eastern coasts of Australia for Great Britain, laid the foundation of her great colonial possessions in that region. For a time, however, the government failed to realize the value of the new possessions, and turned Australia into a convict station by



COOK'S VOYAGES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC.

sending out 1030 convicts to Botany Bay, near the present town of Sydney, in 1787.

The internal history of England from 1760 to 1783 is the history of George III.'s struggle to destroy the "government machine" which Walpole had created. To do this he 514. sum- corrupted Parliament and the parliamentary electors, mary debauched the public service, misused the public funds, and left men like Pitt and Burke in obscurity while less far-sighted men like Grenville and Townshend steered the ship of state upon the rocks. These men first goaded the American colonists into rebellion by unwise and unjust laws, and then, through pride and false ideas of discipline, drove them to declare their independence. Incompetent government finally brought England where, for the first time in a hundred years, France could

dispute with her the supremacy of the seas. In these dark times the hope of the nation lay in the fact that the people (as shown in the Wilkes episode and the Junius letters) were learning to criticise the government as if it were their servant and not their master.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Contrast the training of George III. for the kingship with that of his two predecessors. (2) What previous monarchs meddled with the distribution of seats in Parliament for political ends? (3) The evils and the advantages (if any) of the pocket-borough system. (4) What was the effect of George III.'s methods on the quality of the public service? (5) For whose benefit did Great Britain defend British territory in America against the French from 1758 to 1763? (6) What had Spain to gain by making war against Great Britain? (7) Why was the right of searching neutral vessels so vigorously maintained by Great Britain, and so stoutly opposed by Holland? (8) How long had Great Britain been in possession of Florida when she ceded it to Spain in 1783? (9) When and how had France lost the right to fortify Dunkirk? (10) Show how the liberty gained for the press in 1771 was an advance on that gained in 1695. (11) Was Wilkes a martyr to a cause?

Search topics

(12) Burke's description of colonial conditions in his speech on Conciliation with America. (13) North's bargain with the East India Company regarding the importation of tea into the American colonies. (14) Could the colonies have gained their independence without the aid of France? (15) The siege of Gibraltar, 1779–1782. (16) The Wilkes riots in London. (17) Dickens's account of the Gordon riots in *Barnaby Rudge*. (18) Contemporary criticism of the navigation acts. (19) Warren Hastings in India. (20) Friendship of Charles James Fox for America.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

LIFE AND MANNERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE early Hanoverian period was a period of progress in almost all material lines. The steady growth of the population and the drafting of more and more laborers from the land to manufacturing caused a rise in the value of farm products, and this in turn led to improved methods of farming. In previous centuries half the cultivated land was always lying fallow; now the system of rotation of crops made most of this land productive every year. For this purpose turnips and other root crops were widely grown about the middle of the century, foreign grasses, such as clover, were imported, and methods of fertilization were improved. As the century advanced, farming became so important that the richer land-owners bought up the smaller holdings until comparatively few "yeomen" were left. Finally, the needs of the large farms led to the introduction of labor-saving devices — such as machine drills for planting, and thrashing machines, run by horse power.

Up to the eighteenth century British manufactures were restricted by dependence on hand labor, and by the high cost of iron, which was mined by manual labor and smelted with charcoal at great expense; but after 1740 new methods in mining and manufacturing rapidly brought about great industrial changes. During this century the steam engine made its appearance as a factor in industry. A rude engine in which steam was employed to create a vacuum behind the piston, which was then pushed in by atmospheric pressure, was invented by Newcomen in 1705 and used for

pumping water from mines. The modern steam engine was due to the invention of Watt, who, between 1769 and 1784, worked out the reciprocal steam engine in virtually its present form. Even so, machinery would have been but sparingly used had not the price of iron been brought down by the use of coke instead of charcoal for smelting iron (1750) and by the invention of improved processes of rolling iron by machinery (1784).

Among the earliest mechanical inventions was that of improved machinery for knitting stockings, the chief industry in Nottingham (1758). More important still were new 517. Power devices for spinning thread of flax and wool. Hitherto machinery all thread in England was made by the spinning wheel, and the husband wove into cloth at his loom the thread which his wife spun. The linen-thread industry on a large scale began at Paisley in 1722, but the greatest benefactor to this industry was Hargreaves, who in 1764 invented a machine for laying the fibers of flax or wool or cotton in parallel directions; and by a second invention (the "spinning jenny," 1772) made it possible for a single spinning wheel to produce several threads at once. Twelve years later Arkwright and Crompton developed from Hargreaves's idea the modern "spinning mule," driven by water power. The next step forward was taken when Cartwright invented a power loom, 1785, by means of which the threads spun in Crompton's machine could be made into cloth at a comparatively rapid rate.

With the growth of manufactures came the need of better means of transportation. Rough and muddy roads, where pack horses had to pick their way with care, and carts 518. Roads came to grief every few miles, were changed into fairly smooth "turnpike" roads, or hard-surfaced toll roads built by private capital, the fees from which were spent partly in improving the condition of the roadbed. Between 1760 and 1774, Parliament passed four hundred and fifty-two acts for the improvement of roads alone. In the coal fields, tramways for

**COAL FIELDS
AND
CANALS**

1800

SCALE OF MILES

10 15 20 30 40



LIFE AND MANNERS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 445

the wagons carrying coal to the ships gave the first suggestion of the modern railway; and in all the manufacturing districts canals were constructed as a means of getting heavy goods and machinery to and from the mills.



SEDAN CHAIRS, 1750.

From the painting by W. F. Yeames.

The daily life of Englishmen in this material age was not as a whole uplifting. In the country the landowners, from peer to yeoman, were given to coarse and brutal pleasures. ^{519. Rural life} Hunting and fishing by day, gambling and drinking by night, were the chief employments of those who could afford them. The county squire, as a general thing, never looked into a book, unless it were a book of law. Swearing and vulgarity seasoned much of the conversation. Taste was "conspicuous by its absence." The less frequented roads were wretched — quagmires alternating with stretches of sand. Highwaymen haunted the main traveled roads. Communication between different districts was therefore restricted, and "provincialism" in thought and manners was the result.

In the cities concentration of wealth and intelligence somewhat modified these conditions. The growing prosperity ^{520. Urban life} of the nation is shown by the fact that the govern-

ment, which in 1694 paid 8 per cent for its loans, found plenty of credit at 3 per cent in 1750. After Clive's exploits in India, officials of the East India Company returned to England fabulously rich (Clive himself received a present of £250,000 from one prince), bought their way into society, and, in the words of Chatham, "forced their way into Parliament by such a torrent of corruption as no hereditary fortune could resist." Although civic activity was low, and



RANELAGH GARDENS, 1742-1803.

From an old print.

even London lacked paved streets, clean sidewalks, effective street lights, pure water, and adequate sewers, yet private houses were built with some pretense to luxury if not beauty. Theaters, pleasure gardens like Ranelagh and Vauxhall, bull baiting, cockfighting, and prize fights were the amusements of the well-to-do citizen.

The condition of the lower classes was very wretched. "The
habit of gin drinking — the master curse of English life,
to which most of the crime and an immense portion of
the misery of the nation may be ascribed — . . . became

for the first time a national vice in the early Hanoverian period." Drunkenness led to poverty, and then to robbery and murder. High license laws could not be enforced, and low license laws failed to restrict the sale of liquors. Gangs of ruffians infested the streets at night, and the prevailing system of policing was wholly ineffective to keep order. Jack Sheppard, Jonathan Wild, and Dick Turpin, all famous thieves, were the popular heroes of the lowest classes. So ignorant were the masses that when Parliament decreed that September 3, 1752, should be reckoned as September 14 in order to correct an error which had grown up in the calendar,¹ mobs gathered about the Parliament houses, clamoring, "Give us our eleven days!" — for they believed that they had somehow been robbed of eleven days' pay.

When a malefactor fell into the clutches of the law, his fate was indescribably wretched. Confined in a filthy, unventilated, and unwarmed cell, prevented from taking exercise or employing his body and mind in any useful way, consorting at times with sick or demented companions in misery, he lost all hope and all desire for reformation. Moreover, the same treatment was meted out to prisoners for debt, although innocent of crime, and to the most hardened criminals. Hanging was the penalty for one hundred and sixty different offenses, and more horrible punishments were inflicted for such offenses as treason. Before the American Revolution, numbers of criminals were transported to the American colonies, to be sold into forced labor for a term of years; but after that time prison hulks and penitentiaries were established, where convicts might be kept at work.

Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, I.

516

522. Punishment of crime

¹ The Julian Calendar, in use after 46 B.C., assumed the year to be some minutes longer than it really is. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII. rectified the ten days' error in reckoning which had resulted since the year 325, and introduced into all Catholic countries the calendar now in use; but Protestant England refused to make the change, and by 1752 the difference between Continental and British chronology was eleven days.

The literature of the period reflected the prevailing social conditions. The government no longer encouraged writers of ⁵²³ **The state of literature** high quality by gifts of public office and pensions. Individual noblemen still posed as patrons of letters, but the writers who tried to follow in the steps of Pope and Addison mostly starved in Grub Street (the London center for poverty-stricken authors).

About the middle of the century, the modern English novel was created by the genius of Samuel Richardson (author of *Pamela* and *Clarissa Harlowe*) and Henry Fielding (author of *Tom Jones* and *Joseph Andrews*). The middle classes, which cared little for classic literary forms, were delighted with these coarse but strong and lifelike pictures of the world in which they lived, and the reading habit rapidly increased.

Newspapers, which since the first number of the *Daily Cour-*

ant (1702) and Defoe's *Review of the State of the English Nation* (1704) had maintained a struggling existence, now had multitudes of readers. In 1724 there were in England but three daily journals; in 1790 there were ten times that number in London alone, including the *Morning Chronicle* (1770), the *Morning Post* (1772), the *Morning Herald* (1780), and the *Times* (1788).



SAMUEL JOHNSON.

From the portrait by Joshua Reynolds.

Between these two dates, the tradition of the *Tatler* and the <sup>524. John-
son and the
Club</sup> *Spectator* was kept up by the *Rambler* and the *Idler*, the work of Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784). This powerful thinker and writer was the last of the trio of literary dictators which also included Dryden and Pope. Migrat

ing from Lichfield to London at a time when the system of government patronage for authors had been abolished by Walpole, Johnson was the first great author to make literature strictly self-supporting. Besides the *Rambler* and *Idler* he wrote poems, political pamphlets, essays, a romance, a tragedy; he compiled the first complete and authoritative dictionary of the English language; but he was still more celebrated for his brilliant conversation, when in the celebrated "Club" he discoursed on literature, manners, and morals. In this Club were Burke, statesman; Goldsmith, novelist and dramatist; Garrick, the first great Shakespearean actor; Boswell, Johnson's biographer; Sheridan, dramatist and orator; and Sir Joshua Reynolds, the foremost painter of the age.

Since the days of Van Dyck, no great artist had appeared in England. As the first president of the Royal Society of Painters (1768) Reynolds created a new school of painting and of art criticism, his work being marked by dignity, variety, and richness of coloring. Both Reynolds and his contemporary Gainsborough (1727–1788) were especially noted for portraits. Of the two, Gainsborough was the more noted for delicacy and suggestive power. Hogarth (1697–1764) was an artist of very different stamp, who devoted his wonderful powers of caricature to the criticism of contemporary manners, the satirizing of follies, and the teaching of moral lessons. To his graphic drawings we owe our intimate knowledge of many phases of life in the eighteenth century. No other artist ever succeeded in crowding so many significant details into a single picture. "Other pictures we look at,—his prints we read!"

Italian opera, introduced into England after the Restoration, was the most fashionable amusement during the latter part of the century. Handel, a German naturalized in England, composed many operas. About 1728, when Gay had partly destroyed the public taste for opera by writing his

*Lamb,
Genius
of Hogarth*

526. The stage

burlesque *Beggar's Opera* (in which thieves and cutthroats were the chief characters), Handel turned to the production of oratorios. His *Messiah*, written in twenty-three days, has made his name immortal.

By the middle of the century, the legitimate drama again became popular, under the impetus given by David Garrick (1717–1779). Hitherto tragic acting had been stilted and conventional, and comic acting was artificial and silly; Garrick introduced a more realistic type of acting, which was made still more effective by attention to historic details in scenery and costume. Through him interest in Shakespeare's plays was revived, and the public taste was improved. The success of Goldsmith's and Sheridan's romantic and mirthful comedies (*She Stoops to Conquer*, *The School for Scandal*) is a proof of this improvement.

Several renowned historical writers of this period, Hume, Gibbon, and Smith, are notable chiefly for their originality

527. His-
tory and
political
science and force of thought. David Hume (1711–1776) was a critic of the prevailing religious beliefs, and his *Inquiry into the Principles of Morals* set forth a new explanation

of morality, namely, that it is based upon the usefulness of actions instead of upon the laws of God. This doctrine was later elaborated by his friend Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) under the name of "utilitarian philosophy." Hume was also the founder of a new school of historical writing (*History of England*, 1762) distinguished by the attempt to explain as well as to recount the facts of history. Hume's whole work, however, was tinged by his own personal beliefs. Edward Gibbon (1737–1794), author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, not only had Hume's critical and philosophical temper, but he also had a vivid imagination, a noble style, and a wide grasp of historical materials. Adam Smith (1723–1790), by his *Inquiry into the Nature and the Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, showed the weakness of the existing theories of politi-

LIFE AND MANNERS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 451

cal economy, and by his attacks on monopolies and trade restrictions became the founder of the modern free trade theory.

After the triumph of Anglicanism at the Revolution, the religious tone of the nation suffered a decline. Clergymen of the lower grade gambled, drank, and swore; those of finer fiber often drifted into unbelief. Formalism took the place of piety, and religious services were lifeless, and called out few attendants. In 1738 John Wesley began his work of reviving and purifying the religious life of the masses. At first he retained his connection with the established church, but later organized an independent sect, the Wesleyans or Methodists. As the apostle of an ardent personal Christianity he traversed England, Scotland, and Ireland, preaching on open commons and city squares more than forty thousand sermons to vast gatherings of factory workers, artisans, and day-laborers. With him were associated his brother Charles, a writer of hymns, and the eloquent George Whitefield, whose work was scarcely less important. One effect of this movement was to arouse the Church of England to a keener realization of its mission and its obligations.

The prevailing note in English life during the eighteenth century was materialism. Agriculture and the manufacturing industries took great strides. Society, art, religion, education, amusements, were all "of the earth, earthy." This state of things was in some degree due to the reaction from the strenuous period of the great Revolution, in some degree to the condition of court and government under the German monarchs. Nevertheless, Johnson's sturdy morality, Wesley's warm religious enthusi-



WOMAN'S COSTUME,
1750.

asm, Burke's serious political studies, Hogarth's castigation of vice, Fielding's breezy picture of human life, which he found superficial and faulty, but sound at the core,—all these gave promise of higher ideals and a finer national life in the days to come.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) How did the development of manufactures raise the price of farm products? (2) What effect did the massing of the land into large instead of small farms have upon the independence of voters? (3) In the United States, are small landholders relatively numerous or few? (4) In what way would the growth of manufactures in England react on her commerce? (5) The origin of the word "nabob," and the meaning which it acquired after about 1770. (6) Describe the system of patronage for men of letters, as it existed early in the eighteenth century. (7) What conditions tended to destroy this system? (8) Description of Watt's engine.

Search topics

(9) Vauxhall. (10) Johnson's letter to Chesterfield regarding patronage of men of letters. (11) A conversation at the Club. (12) Some anecdotes about Goldsmith. (13) An account of a fox hunt. (14) London street life. (15) The Fleet Prison in the eighteenth century. (16) Whitefield in America. (17) Charles Wesley's hymns. (18) Gibbon's autobiography. (19) Character and service of James Boswell. (20) Career of a highwayman.

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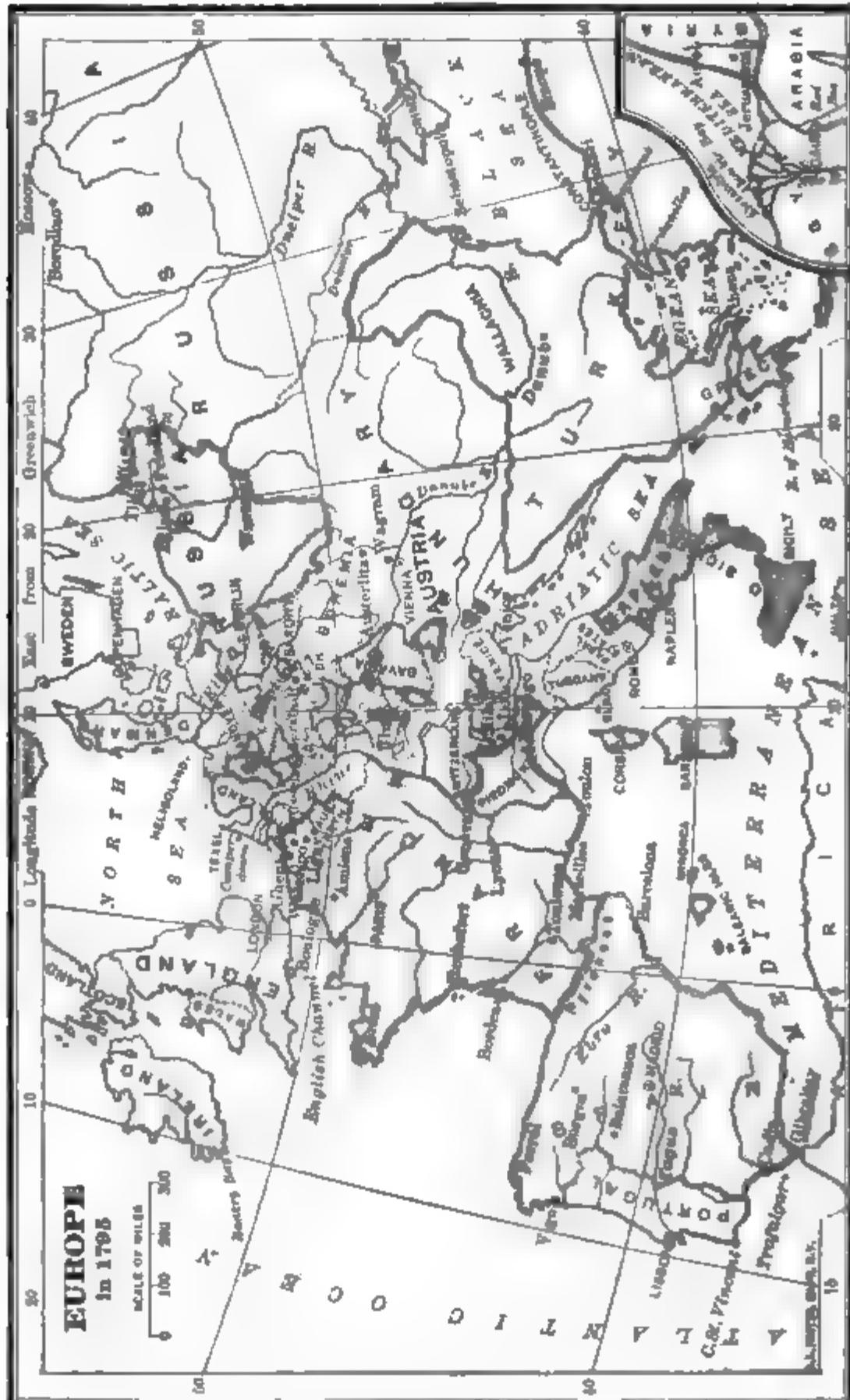
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Illustrative works



CHAPTER XXXII.

PERIOD OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS (1789-1815)

THE natural development of British government and society was now interrupted by a revolutionary movement which began in France in 1789, by degrees involved every European state, and for twenty-two years absorbed all the energies of Great Britain. Under the Bourbon monarchs, the power of France had steadily declined for more than a century: her wealth was drained away in disastrous wars, while trade and industry were crippled by monopolies and restrictive laws. By 1789 the annual expenses of the state were 40,000,000 francs (\$8,000,000) more than its income. In May of that year the members of the States-general, summoned to suggest measures to stave off national bankruptcy, assumed the right to formulate a new constitution for the nation; feudal rights and privileges were soon abolished; and a limited monarchy was created. This was not accomplished, however, without rioting, cruelty, and bloodshed.

At first the Revolution met with favor among British statesmen, but the excesses of its leaders soon caused a change of sentiment. Edmund Burke, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), early foretold the utter ruin of the French social system and the establishment of a military despotism upon its ruins; but the effect of this warning was more than counterbalanced by Thomas Paine's reply entitled *The Rights of Man*. This pamphlet, of which a million and a half copies were sold, roused in Great Britain a spirit akin to that in France.

530. The French Revolution

531. Effect of the Revolution upon England

Societies were formed to promote reforms in the British constitution, and the government, terrified at the spirit which was manifested, passed laws forbidding seditious meetings and even suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. "There was thus formed a new Tory party, having for its watchword

Bright, History of England, III. 1161 'The old Constitution,' refusing to listen to any sound of reform or change, regarding every measure in a popular direction as a preliminary to popular excesses. . . . At the head of this party Pitt, of late so liberal, placed himself, supported by Burke, the late Whig leader." The leaders of

the Whig, or pro-French party, were Fox and Grey.

Late in 1792, the French abolished their constitutional monarchy and established a republic, at the same time declar-

532. Causes of the war with France ing that they would "grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wished to recover their liberty." This action convinced most English statesmen that the existing government in France was a menace to law and order everywhere; and when the French followed up their proclamation by forcibly changing the Austrian Netherlands into a republic, and threatening to invade Holland (a state with which England had a treaty of protection and alliance), Pitt began to prepare for war. December 31, 1792, the British Cabinet declared that it would "never see with indifference that France should make herself directly or indirectly sovereign of the Low Countries." The French revolutionary leaders, however, did not wait to be attacked. After putting to death their dethroned monarch, Louis XVI., they declared war against both England and Holland in February, 1793. Great Britain, Spain, Holland, Austria, and Prussia at once organized the first of six great European coalitions against France.

This first war lasted from 1793 to 1802, during which period

533. First period of the French wars the aim of Great Britain was to overthrow the dangerous monster of French Republicanism, and to replace the Bourbons upon the throne of France. During the

"Reign of Terror" inaugurated in France by Danton and Robespierre (1793-1794), the war was confined to a limited area; but after the restoration of order under a new government, called the Directory, in 1795, the military genius and ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte led to more extended operations.

Pitt's policy throughout the war was to subsidize the foreign German princes that bore the brunt of the fighting in Europe, while he used Great Britain's naval power to destroy the commercial marine and the navy of France, and to seize her few remaining colonies. At the same time, to prevent the United States from getting the carrying trade between France and her colonies, he revived the Rule of 1756, which forbade neutral states to enjoy in time of war a trade which had been closed to them in time of peace.

The Directory early secured alliances with Spain and with Holland, and organized a large allied fleet to gain control of the Channel. Before this could be done, Great Britain seized Holland's colony at the Cape of Good Hope (1795), thus securing her route to the East; and in February, 1797, Admirals Jervis and Nelson, with only 15 vessels, defeated the French and Spanish fleets of 27 vessels off Cape St. Vincent, and in October Admiral Duncan defeated the Dutch in the battle of Camperdown. Thus the superiority on the sea fell to Great Britain from the very first; but France, nevertheless, ventured an attack upon British power in the East. In 1798



NAPOLEON.

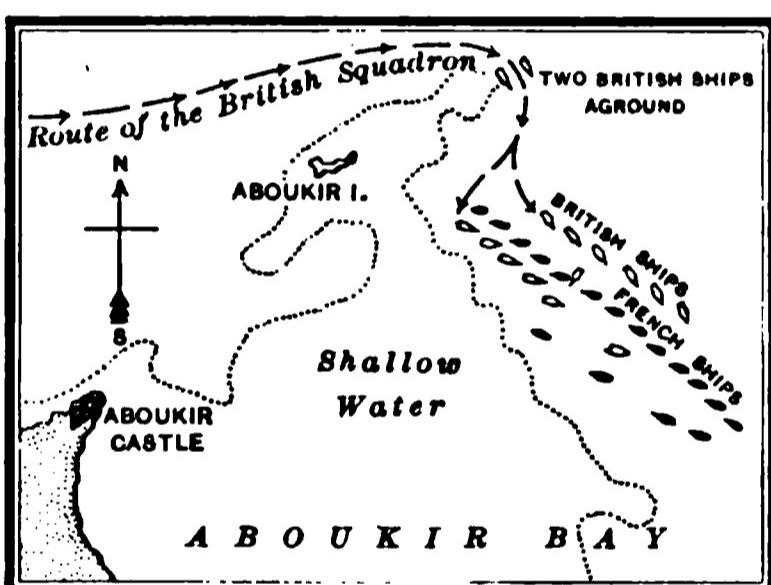
From a painting by Paul Delaroche.

584. Early
naval oper-
ations

a French fleet under General Napoleon Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with 36,000 soldiers. Avoiding the patrol which Nelson maintained in the middle Mediterranean, it secured a naval base by wresting Malta from the Knights of St. John, after a four days' siege, and then proceeded to Egypt.

While Napoleon was conquering Egypt, as a base for operations against India, Nelson attacked and destroyed the

535. Battle of the Nile (Aug. 1, 1798) French fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay, at the mouth of the Nile, on August 1, 1798. In this battle Nelson proved his genius as a naval strategist. Finding the vessels of the French fleet swinging at anchor near a shallow coast, he reasoned that there must be deep water at least a cable's length on all sides of them. He therefore sent several vessels into action on the land side of the French column, while he, with others, took position on the seaward side. Thus each French vessel near the head of the line was attacked by two others, and the ships



BATTLE OF THE NILE.

to leeward could not easily come to their assistance. These in their turn were attacked by fire from both sides, and of the entire French fleet only two vessels escaped destruction. This battle settled the destiny of the East, for Napoleon abandoned his scheme of conquest, left his army in Egypt, and returned to France. Later, Great Britain easily conquered Egypt, and also captured Malta, thus becoming supreme in the Mediterranean.

In this war Great Britain again aroused antagonism by exercising the "right of search" upon the high seas, in order to seize all goods bound from French colonies to France, and

PERIOD OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS (1789-1815) 459

to capture provisions, which she declared to be contraband of war. In 1801 the czar of Russia leagued with Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark to resist by force any search of vessels flying a neutral flag. To break this formidable combination, Great Britain determined to attack Denmark. ^{536. The second "armed neutrality"} Nelson's destruction of the batteries defending Copenhagen in April, 1801, and his threat to bombard the capital compelled the Danish government to abandon its allies, and the accession of a new czar hostile to Napoleon caused the collapse of the policy of armed neutrality.

Meanwhile the surrender of the French army stranded in Egypt, and the capture of Malta, led to negotiations for peace, and the treaty of Amiens, signed in April, 1802, put an end to the war. Great Britain agreed to abandon the attempt to restore the Bourbon monarchy in France, "to drop the title of king of France from the official style of the English monarch," and to restore various conquered French territories. She was also to restore the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John (to whom it formerly belonged), under the protection of the czar of Russia. France agreed to refrain from aggressions upon other states. ^{537. Peace of Amiens (1802)}

Neither party to this treaty of Amiens kept its word. The power of Napoleon, now First Consul of France, depended upon his military prestige. "France needs war," he said to his council in 1802; . . . "I shall look on each conclusion of peace as simply a short armistice." Contrary to his agreement he annexed Piedmont and the island of Elba, reorganized the government of Switzerland by force, and closed these countries to English trade. He enlarged the French navy, and sent civil engineers and officers to study the military situation in England and to procure maps of harbors and plans of fortifications. At the same time he arrogantly demanded that the British government should suppress all newspapers which dared to criticise his conduct. ^{538. Second war with France (1803-1814)}

In the light of these actions, Great Britain refused to give up Malta, since it was certain to be seized by Napoleon, and on May 16, 1803, she declared war upon France. Even before this declaration, the British seized two French merchant vessels, and Napoleon, in retaliation, caused the arrest of about 12,000 English travelers and merchants in France. This second war lasted from 1803 to 1814. After the first year of the war Napoleon became emperor of the French, and deliberately set to work to extend his sway over more and more territory.

The first important operation was the massing of 130,000 men at Boulogne, opposite the coast of England, for the purpose

539. The Boulogne armament of invading and conquering the island (1804). Spain was bullied into lending the assistance of her fleet; transports were provided in large numbers, and in the arsenals and shipyards of Brest, Cadiz, and Toulon war ships were built to convoy them across the Channel. To meet this danger Pitt

negotiated a coalition with Russia in April and with Austria in August. These governments were to attack Napoleon with enormous armies, of which Great Britain was to bear a large portion of the cost, while with her fleet she blockaded the ports of France and Spain.



"I SAY, LITTLE BONEY, WHY DON'T YOU
COME OUT?"

From a caricature of the Boulogne armament,
August 2, 1803.

In January, 1805, Admiral Villeneuve escaped from the **540 Battle of Trafalgar (Oct., 1805)** harbor of Toulon with one division of the allied fleet, was joined by a second at Cadiz, lured Nelson across the Atlantic to defend the West Indies, and hurried back

to protect the crossing of the Boulogne army. He fell in with a small fleet under Sir Robert Calder, suffered some damage, and stopped at Vigo for repairs and supplies long enough for Nelson to return and gather a strong fleet.

Villeneuve then retired to Cadiz, but on October 21 sailed out with a fleet of 33 ships of the line to meet Nelson with 27 vessels. The allied fleet was deployed in a long single line of battle. Nelson divided his forces, and struck this line at two different places simultaneously, thus preventing its united action, utilizing both sides of his vessels at once, and (as at the Nile) rendering the leeward division of the enemy's ships useless. Twenty of Villeneuve's ships were either sunk or captured, and the French naval power was permanently ruined. For this great victory of Trafalgar England paid a great price, for Nelson was mortally

wounded in the thick of the fight. He lived only long enough to learn that victory was assured. "Now I am satisfied," he said. "Thank God, I have done my duty."

On learning of Villeneuve's first retirement to Cadiz, Napoleon immediately used the Boulogne army for an attack on Austria.

*Account of
W. Beatty,
Nelson's
surgeon*



THE NELSON MONUMENT IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

541. Defeat of Austria and Prussia He captured Ulm (October, 1805); and then overwhelmingly defeated the combined Russian and Austrian forces at Austerlitz in Austria (December, 1805). The Russians retired without making peace, and Austria submitted to degrading terms. Great Britain was thus left alone as an active antagonist of Napoleon. Pitt, harassed and almost in despair, died in January, 1806; and the succeeding ministry negotiated for peace without result, for Napoleon, elated by his success, was planning to attack Prussia. Victories at Jena and Auerstadt (October, 1806) opened his way to Berlin, and the mastery of Prussia thus gained enabled him to carry out a long-contemplated measure against England.

542. Napoleon's commercial war against England (1806-1814) Austerlitz had made Napoleon master of the Continent; but Trafalgar had confined him to that Continent; twenty miles of salt water put England beyond the reach of his armies. Furthermore, the war on which she had expended such enormous sums was actually making her richer. The war put a stop to manufacturing in various parts of Europe, and the want thus created was filled by English goods. To ruin this commercial and industrial prosperity was Napoleon's only hope of harming England. The dream of reducing Great Britain by the destruction of her commercial prosperity, long floating in his mind, now became tangible, and was formulated into the phrase that he "would conquer the sea by the land."

Accordingly, in November, 1806, he issued the famous Berlin Decree, which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, and forbade all trade with England throughout those parts of Europe over which Napoleon had control—including France, the Netherlands, western Germany, Prussia, and Italy. As a result of a victory over the Russians, followed by the peace of Tilsit (1807), Russia was soon added to the list of states accepting Napoleon's "Continental System." In December, 1807, he issued a second decree from Milan, which

ordered the seizure of any ship which had touched at a British port.

Great Britain retaliated with various Orders in Council, which declared all the ports of France and her allies to be in a state of blockade, but permitted neutral vessels to apply between such ports and those of Great Britain. The object of the British government was (1) to starve the states of Europe into abandoning Napoleon, (2) to force him to withdraw his decrees, and (3) to make war pay for itself by diverting all commerce to her own ports. “‘No trade except *through* England,’ was the formula under which her leaders expressed their purpose.”

Decrees and Orders in Council proved equally futile. Consumers of British and colonial goods on the Continent suffered, but Napoleon had no pity on them. On the other hand, neutral traders, whose business was wholly destroyed by the Orders in Council, were thrown into a hostility to Great Britain. The citizens of the United States, who had not forgotten the Revolutionary War, now found their profitable carrying trade curtailed by Napoleon’s Decrees, which forbade them to trade with England, and by the British Orders in Council, which practically forbade them to trade with Europe.

By secret articles in the treaty of Tilsit, France and Russia agreed to impose the Continental System upon Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, and Austria. Great Britain soon learned of this arrangement and also learned that Napoleon was planning to seize the Danish fleet as a nucleus of a French navy. Canning, Great Britain’s energetic Secretary for Foreign Affairs, therefore induced the ministry to seize the entire Danish fleet and hold it until the end of the war. In the same year Great Britain took possession of Heligoland, near the mouth of the Elbe, as a possible base of operations against Napoleon’s German allies, and as a depot for goods to be smuggled into Germany; and the island

543. Operation of the Continental System

Mahan, Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution, II., 200

544. Resulting trouble in Denmark and Spain

remained in her possession until 1890, when it was restored to Germany in return for concessions in South Africa.

Napoleon tried to force the Continental System upon the Spanish peninsula, by seizing Portugal (1807) and making

his brother Joseph king of Spain (1808). Great Britain at once sent a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley to Portugal, and by large subsidies induced Austria to make one more struggle against Napoleon. Although Austria was totally defeated in the campaign ending at Wagram in July, 1809, Wellesley meanwhile gained a foothold in Portugal from which he was never dislodged.



ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

In his operations in the Spanish peninsula Wellesley displayed the finest generalship.

545. The Peninsular campaign With over fifty miles of fortifications ("the lines of Torres Vedras") he made Lisbon absolutely impregnable, thus securing a base of retreat and source of supplies by water. He then expelled the French from Portuguese territory, and captured the frontier fortresses which commanded the approach into Spain. At this critical moment (1810) Russia refused any longer to maintain the Continental System; and while Napoleon was sacrificing an army of half a million men by an invasion of her territory (1812), Wellesley forced his way steadily into Spain. By winning the important battle of Salamanca (July, 1812), and then moving northward to Burgos, he threatened the enemy's connection with France, and forced him to evacuate Madrid.

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Pressing on, Wellesley captured the line of fortresses between the Pyrenees and the sea, and by January, 1814, was established upon French soil. By skillful maneuvers, which threatened to outflank the French armies, he forced them steadily northward, and captured Toulouse on April 1st. On the day before, the allied armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden entered Paris in triumph. Napoleon was forced to abdicate his throne, and remain in semicaptivity on the island of Elba, while the brother of the executed king Louis XVI. was placed on the throne of France as Louis XVIII.

All this time the difficulties of Great Britain were increased by the hostility of the United States, provoked by (1) the various Orders in Council, (2) the exercise of the old obnoxious right of search in carrying out these Orders, and (3) the seizure of seamen from American vessels on the pretense that they were British citizens. War was declared by the United States in June, 1812. With the exception of indecisive operations on the Canadian border, the fighting was limited to naval duels upon the high seas, in which the superiority of American seamanship and marksmanship generally brought about the defeat of the British, to their great chagrin. In 1813, however, the American navy was practically driven from the seas, though American privateers harassed the commerce of Great Britain.

In 1814, the fight with Napoleon being ended, the ministry planned three invasions of the United States. A hasty raid upon Washington was successful (August); but an invasion from the north by way of Lake Champlain was checked by Commander MacDonough (September). An attack upon New Orleans (beginning in December) was repulsed by General Jackson. The peace signed at Ghent in 1814 restored all conquests; and since the right of search had ceased to be vital to Great Britain after the fall of Napoleon, the claim to exercise it was tacitly withdrawn.

546. War
with the
United
States
(1812-1814)

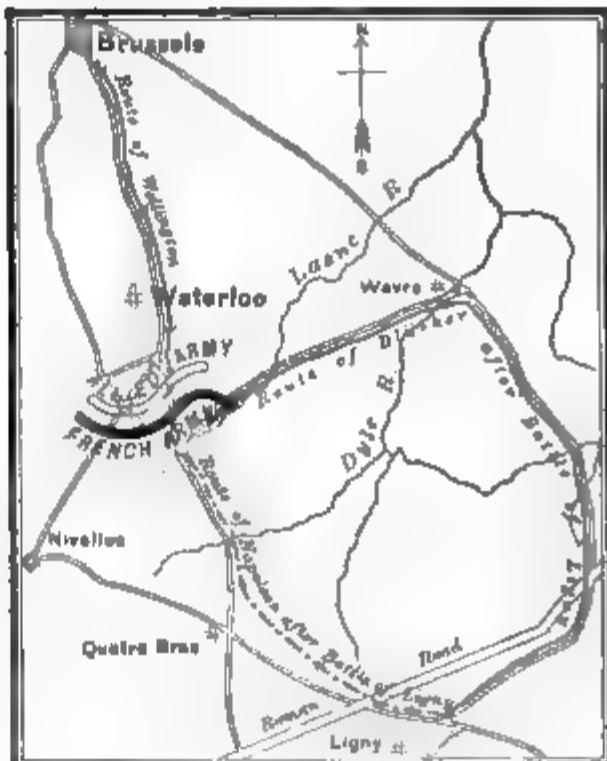
In September, 1814, a congress of European powers met at Vienna for the purpose of readjusting the political and territorial conditions of the Continent. Its sessions form an epoch in the history of international relations. The four states which had borne the burden of destroying the spirit of the French Revolution (Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia) now assumed for themselves an authority superior to that of all other states of Europe, and Bourbon France was allowed to join them. Thus arose the Pentarchy, or "Five Great Powers" (six with Italy after 1870), which ever since, when occasion arises, have assumed the right to shape the destinies of smaller states, elevating or deposing rulers, disposing of territory, permitting or forbidding war, and demanding the abrogation or revision of treaties.

To avoid quarrels regarding precedence, it was agreed that in public documents the five states should be named in alphabetical order, but Great Britain and Austria were the leaders in the Congress of Vienna. Great Britain, despite her opportunity, demanded no large territories, and was content to retain Heligoland as a base for her Baltic trade route, Malta on the road to Egypt, and Cape Colony and Mauritius on the sea route to India.

In March, 1815, Napoleon returned to France, and with the aid of his former soldiers was again made emperor (for "The Hundred Days"). The Great Powers at once arranged for united action, and forces amounting to a million men were focused upon Paris. A Prussian army under Blücher advanced through Flanders from the northeast; a British, Dutch, and Hanoverian army under Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, from the northwest. To prevent their union Napoleon struck Blücher at Ligny (June 16) and drove him back. He then hastened to meet Wellington at Waterloo, near Brussels (June 17, 1815). From eleven in the morning until four in the afternoon he made repeated assaults upon the

British front; but the Iron Duke had chosen his position with great skill, and held his ground with bulldog tenacity, waiting for the Prussians to join him and turn the scale against Napoleon by sheer numbers.

When the Prussians finally appeared on the French flank, late in the afternoon, Napoleon was compelled to risk all in one final assault upon Wellington's position. The latter met the advancing squadrons with a murderous cannon fire, and then at the decisive moment attacked with all his force, main and reserve. The rout of the French was complete. Napoleon fled, and, unable to escape from the country, surrendered to the commander of a British frigate at Rochefort. By agreement among the allies he was retained as prisoner in the British colony of St. Helena until his death in 1821.



MOVEMENTS LEADING TO WATERLOO.

In 1789 the French nation undertook to reform its obsolete and extravagant government by creating a constitutional monarchy. In the process, the power fell into the hands of demagogues, and there followed a "Reign of Terror." Toward foreign powers France entered upon a republican propaganda, which forced neighboring governments to attack France in self-defense. War brought into prominence Napoleon Bonaparte,—the greatest military genius and the most selfish and unscrupulous tyrant of modern times,—who made him-

549. Summary

self master of France, Italy, Spain, Holland, and western Germany, and for a time forced his will upon Austria, Prussia, and Sweden. In the long contest which ended in 1815, Great Britain furnished but few of the armies, but she paid a very large share of its cost. Her navies throttled the commerce of France, her money paid for the armies hurled against Napoleon by Austria and Prussia, and her general, Wellington — even before the final contest at Waterloo — did more than any other one man to sap Napoleon's military strength. In this great work she earned a commanding position as one of the Great Powers of modern Europe.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Review the wars between France and England under the Bourbon monarchs, and show their effect on France. (2) Show how the practice of creating monopolies tended to cripple trade and industry. (3) Compare the circumstances under which feudal rights and privileges were abolished in England and in France. (4) When was the Habeas Corpus Act passed? Under what conditions may it rightly be suspended? Do you think these conditions prevailed in England in 1790? (5) State exactly what warranted Great Britain in interfering with the affairs of France. (6) Was Great Britain right in attacking Denmark in 1801? in 1807? (7) When and why did the king of England first assume the title of king of France? (8) What king of England was actually crowned king of France? (9) Show, with the aid of a map, how Napoleon hoped to close the ports of Europe to English trade. (10) Do you think his scheme for invading England was feasible? (11) Did the Napoleonic wars affect Russia's influence in Europe? (12) Show how the Peninsular campaign affected Napoleon's operations against Austria and Russia.

Search topics

(13) The outbreak of the French Revolution. (14) An account of some campaign or battle which illustrates Napoleon's military genius (as Lodi, Austerlitz, Wagram). (15) Effect of the defense of Acre on Napoleon's designs against the East. (16) A comparison of Napoleon's empire with Charlemagne's. (17) Victor Hugo's description of the battle of Waterloo in *Les Misérables*. (18) Personal traits of the Duke of Wellington. (19) English opinions about Napoleon. (20) Contraband trade during the Continental System. (21) A British war ship in 1800. (22) Career of Nelson.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

LOCAL CONDITIONS (1783-1820)

THE period between 1783 and 1793 witnessed speculation and reckless banking in England which led to many business failures and a consequent panic. In 1793 (the year 560 ~~Financial aspects~~ when war broke out between France and Great Britain) ~~of the war~~ more than a fourth of the country banks failed, and Pitt was compelled to lend to solvent merchants the credit of the



THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

government, in order to tide over the crisis. Although the government borrowed at the rate of £23,000,000 a year, the taxes were enormously increased, both in amount and in kind. Stamp duties, taxes on legacies and on succession, on incomes, on food stuffs, on windows, were added to the list.

As the war advanced, money became very scarce, because (1) much grain and material of war were purchased abroad, (2) subsidies to Austria and Prussia were paid in specie, (3) at the same time exports to France, Spain, Italy, and Holland fell to an extremely low point. People began to hoard their money instead of depositing it in the banks, and on February 20, 1797, the Bank of England had only a two days' supply of gold. Specie payments of over one pound were stopped, and for twenty-two years bank notes formed the circulating medium. Commerce revived as the merchant ships of other nations were swept from the seas, but from 1810 to 1814 bankruptcies were numerous; and the strain of the long war began to be more keenly felt. Between 1792 and 1815 the national debt leaped from £240,000,000 to £860,000,000.

Meanwhile the lower classes were suffering from economic changes which they could not understand. Even when trade and manufactures were most flourishing, wages were kept low through the employment of women and children in factories and even in mines. The working day was from fifteen to eighteen hours long, and hand spinners and weavers could find no employment. While food stuffs were dear, the wages of farm hands declined, for the landowners claimed that high taxes and rents consumed their profits. Though the demand for farm laborers was increasing, thousands threw themselves upon the parishes for support, as paupers. As successive harvests proved good or bad, wheat fluctuated violently from 70 to 180 shillings a quarter (\$1.80 to \$5.50 a bushel). Meat more than doubled in price.

In 1793 the king's carriage was detained in the streets of London by a mob clamoring for "Bread, bread! peace, peace!" In 1797 the crews at Spithead and at the Nore "struck" for higher wages, and the mutinies were with difficulty put down. In 1811, the factory hands, forty thousand strong, petitioned Parliament to save them from starving. In the same year, the

hand weavers began the practice of machine breaking, taking the name "Luddites" from an idiot boy named Ludd, who several years before had destroyed some machinery in a fit of passion. Banding together in riotous mobs, the Luddites destroyed the machines almost as fast as they could be procured by the manufacturers. The militia sympathized with the machine breakers. The revolt spread to the farm laborers, who attacked especially the thrashing machines; and the riots ceased only after a younger generation had grown up, trained from childhood to work with machines.

All this disturbance hindered instead of aiding the movement for political reform. Before the second war with France

552. Political conditions (1803), Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Grey proposed various schemes for purifying Parliament and making it more representative, but while France was in turmoil Parliament refused to try experiments. In 1807 a bill abolishing the slave trade was passed after years of agitation, but Grey's bill to remove Catholic disabilities failed. George III. believed that to sign a bill giving political rights to Catholics would be to violate his coronation oath "to maintain the Protestant religion as by law established"; and since the discussion of the question provoked attacks of insanity, to which he was subject, the agitation was stopped during Portland's and Perceval's ministries (1807-1812). In the year 1810 the king became permanently insane, and his disreputable son (afterward King George IV.) was made regent, with restricted powers.

During Lord Liverpool's ministry (1812-1827) the clamor for reform was continuous, especially after the restoration of

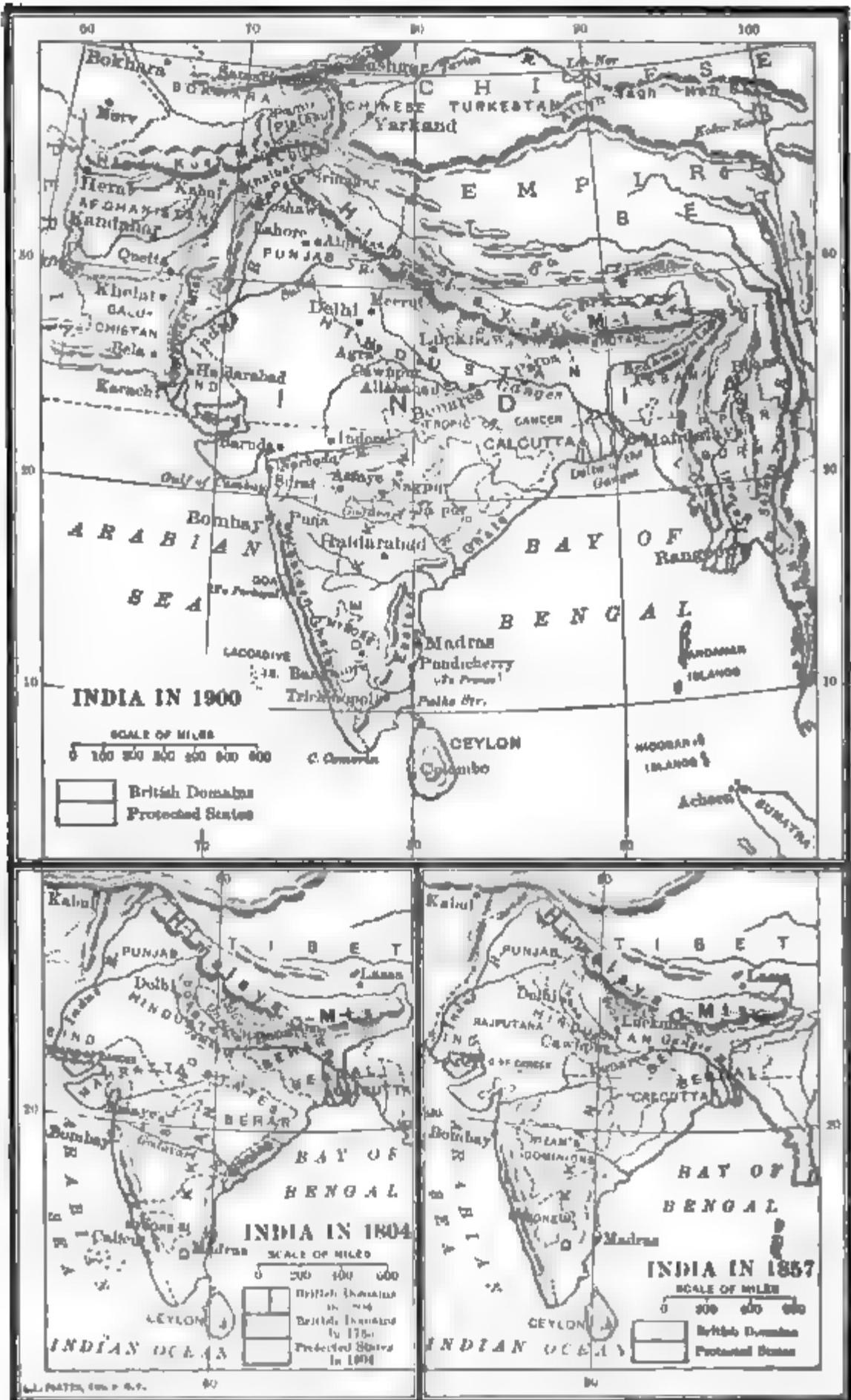
553. Excesses of the reform movement peace in 1815; but beyond making some concessions to dissenters (1812) and admitting Catholics to all ranks of the army and navy (1817), the Tories refused to give up their political and ecclesiastical monopoly. Citizens of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and other great towns held monster meetings to attack the outworn system which

left them without representation. At one meeting in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, where forty thousand people of both sexes and all ages were gathered (1819), an attempt to arrest the orator of the meeting resulted in a general riot in which seventy-five persons were killed, and one hundred injured,—an event long known as the "Peterloo" massacre. The immediate result of these agitations was the passage of "the Six Acts" in 1819, for punishing (1) the holding of outdoor meetings, (2) seditious publications by the press, (3) the circulation of libels, and (4) private military drill; and for securing (5) the speedy trial of rioters and (6) the seizure of arms in sixteen counties where riots had been most frequent. By this means order was gradually restored.

Throughout the French wars, Ireland was a cause of endless worry. The extreme patriots—organized into the society of the United Irishmen—sought to make Ireland an independent republic; the loyal Catholics refused to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy; and even the hitherto peaceable Protestants of Ulster demanded parliamentary reforms and relief from English dictation in their government. In 1798 the United Irishmen, under the leadership of Wolf Tone, actually invoked the aid of France for a general uprising against England. The movement failed, and many of the leaders were executed, but the danger was acute.

As a safeguard against further trouble, Pitt conceived the idea of merging the British and Irish legislatures into one. The Irish Parliament, consisting of the pro-British residents in Ireland, made little objection. The principal protest came from the owners of boroughs (who were unwilling to lose their chance to sell seats and votes in the Irish Parliament), and Pitt silenced their opposition by binding the government to pay them £1,200,000 (or £5675 a seat) for the losses sustained. By this means an Act of Union was passed in 1800, by which the two Parliaments were united: the Irish peers were to

554. Union
of Ireland
and Great
Britain
(1800)



choose twenty-eight of their number to sit in the new House of Lords, and one hundred representatives of the Irish boroughs and counties were to sit in the new House of Commons. The cross of St. Patrick was added to that of St. Andrew and St. George on the royal flag, and the country was renamed the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Unable to secure further reforms which Pitt had promised them, the Irish again rebelled in 1803, under the leadership of Robert Emmet. Mobs in Dublin and Ulster were dispersed with difficulty; but Emmet's uprising was imperfectly organized, and the Irish failed to act promptly and unitedly. Emmet was executed, and the rebellion was stamped out so effectually that Ireland remained quiet, though discontented, for many years.

In 1798 the government of India was intrusted to Richard Wellesley (later Marquis). Finding that French officers were intriguing with native princes and drilling their armies, Wellesley adopted the vigorous policy of deposing 555. Expansion in India princes who seemed to be friendly to France, and substituting others who favored England. Over other states he established "protectorates"; in other words he assumed the right to control their relations with other powers, but left the native rulers in control of the local government.

The most notable event of Wellesley's Indian career was his conquest of the Mahratta states in the region between the Dekkan and Delhi. Holkar and Scindia were the leading Mahratta chiefs, and in 1803 an expedition was dispatched against them from the south. In this expedition, resulting in victories at Assaye and elsewhere, Colonel Arthur Wellesley (brother of the Governor of India, and later Duke of Wellington) first proved the high quality of his soldiership. Two years later another army was sent toward Delhi from the north, along the Ganges valley. The two expeditions resulted in bringing the Grand Mogul under British influence, and in

Tout, History of England, 1689–1890 establishing a protectorate over much of the conquered territory. As a result of Wellesley's triumphs, "the Company were forced by irresistible facts to accept their position as rulers of half India, and suzerains of the rest."

556. Literature: The agitation of the times is reflected in the literature of the period. Robert Burns (1759–1796), the national poet of Scotland, voiced it in his revolt against pride of birth (*A man's a man for a' that!*), his burning patriotism (*Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled*), and his sympathy with the poor and downtrodden (*The Cottar's Saturday Night*). A similar spirit animated Samuel Coleridge (1772–1834), Robert Southey (1774–1843), and William Wordsworth (1770–1850) — called the "Lake Poets" because they lived in the lake region of Westmoreland. It was the revolutionary impulse that led Coleridge in early youth to suggest a communistic state (the Pantisocracy) to be founded "somewhere on the Susquehanna"; but his genius turned to the imaginative, and his finest works (*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*) are purely romantic. Southey was associated with Coleridge in the Pantisocracy scheme, and his earlier poems (*Wat Tyler*, *Joan of Arc*) were revolutionary in tone; but he soon became an ardent Tory, and a hater of Napoleon, whose downfall he ridiculed in the spirited *March to Moscow*.

Wordsworth was Southey's successor as poet-laureate. During a tour in France in 1791, he became fired with a passion for "liberty, equality, and fraternity"; but the fate of the French under Napoleon taught him that man's true happiness depends not on political liberty but on the freedom of his spirit from bigotry, luxury, and folly. His great poems are therefore those which set forth in simple but wonderfully beautiful language the value of "plain living and high thinking." His *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* and his numerous sonnets depicting the beauties of nature are unsurpassed in English literature.

Less sane and less profound, but perhaps more brilliantly endowed, were the poets of twin genius, Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) and John Keats (1795-1821). While Keats ^{558. Shelley} stopped his ears to the din of the present, and pondered ^{and Keats} only on the classic and romantic past (*Endymion*, *St. Agnes' Eve*, *Ode to a Greek Urn*), Shelley's unbalanced nature led him to revolt against religion and the social order in his *Queen Mab*,

and in his own life as well; but the beauty of his purely imaginative poetry (*Adonais*, *To a Sky Lark*, *Ode to the West Wind*) makes one forget the errors of its author.

George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788-1824), showed his revolutionary temper by ^{559. Byron} political poems, satires on English social life, and poems glorifying the remote past (*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *Don Juan*). By his metrical romances (*The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, etc.) he also



LORD BYRON

From the painting by P. Krämer.

earned a place beside Scott as the creator of the modern romantic school of literature.

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) has little in common with the revolutionary poets except a certain pervading note of the heroic; for his subjects are all drawn from the historic past. Beginning with a series of versified romances (*Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marmion*, *Lady of the Lake*), he abandoned this vein as soon as Byron began to work it; and in 1814 published

Waverley, the first of a series of twenty-seven splendid novels. Around characters drawn from English, Scottish, and French history, he weaves a fascinating web of romance; and in the



ABBOTSFORD, THE HOME OF SIR WALTER SCOTT.

lifelike portraiture of character, the blending of imagination with fact, and the power to re-create the past, he far excels all his imitators in the field of the historical novel.

Every stratum of English social life felt the liberal impulse that caused the French Revolution, and suffered from the ^{see sum-} imperial turn given to that impulse under Napoleon. In _{summary} the minds of conservative men these events led to a distrust of change; in more sanguine spirits they caused an imperative demand for the abolition of long-standing abuses; among the lower classes they aroused discontent and lawlessness. Nevertheless, conservatism through organized government proved strong enough to crush out all rebellion, to prevent

radical changes, and even to increase its power in Ireland and India; English industry and commerce showed their vitality by growing steadily amid an exhausting war; and English literature caught from these stirring times a new inspiration and a new glory.

TOPICS

(1) Just what is meant by the phrase "speculation and reckless banking"? (2) When and under what circumstances did the United States go through a financial experience similar to that of Great Britain between 1783 and 1793? (3) Does the United States lay a tax on incomes? (4) Should you think it just, and also wise, to levy a tax on windows? (5) Were power machines an injury or a blessing to the working classes? (6) Point out the error in George III.'s interpretation of his coronation oath. (7) Was it just to expend the public money in buying off the Irish borough owners? (8) Compare the work in India of Clive, of Hastings, and of Wellesley. (9) Why was the slave trade prohibited? (10) On an outline map, indicate Great Britain's possessions in 1793 and in 1815.

Suggestive topics

(11) Conditions of labor in English factories at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (12) Life on a slave vessel. (13) John Howard, Sir Samuel Romilly, and prison reform. (14) Thackeray's estimate of George III.'s character. (15) The career of Henry Grattan. (16) Show how the minor writers of the period (Crabbe, Moore, Jeffrey, De Quincey) reflected its spirit. (17) Benefits to India of English rule. (18) The trial of Robert Emmet. (19) George Eliot's picture of the economic conditions in England during this period in *Silas Marner*. (20) The mystery of the authorship of *Waverley*.

Search topics

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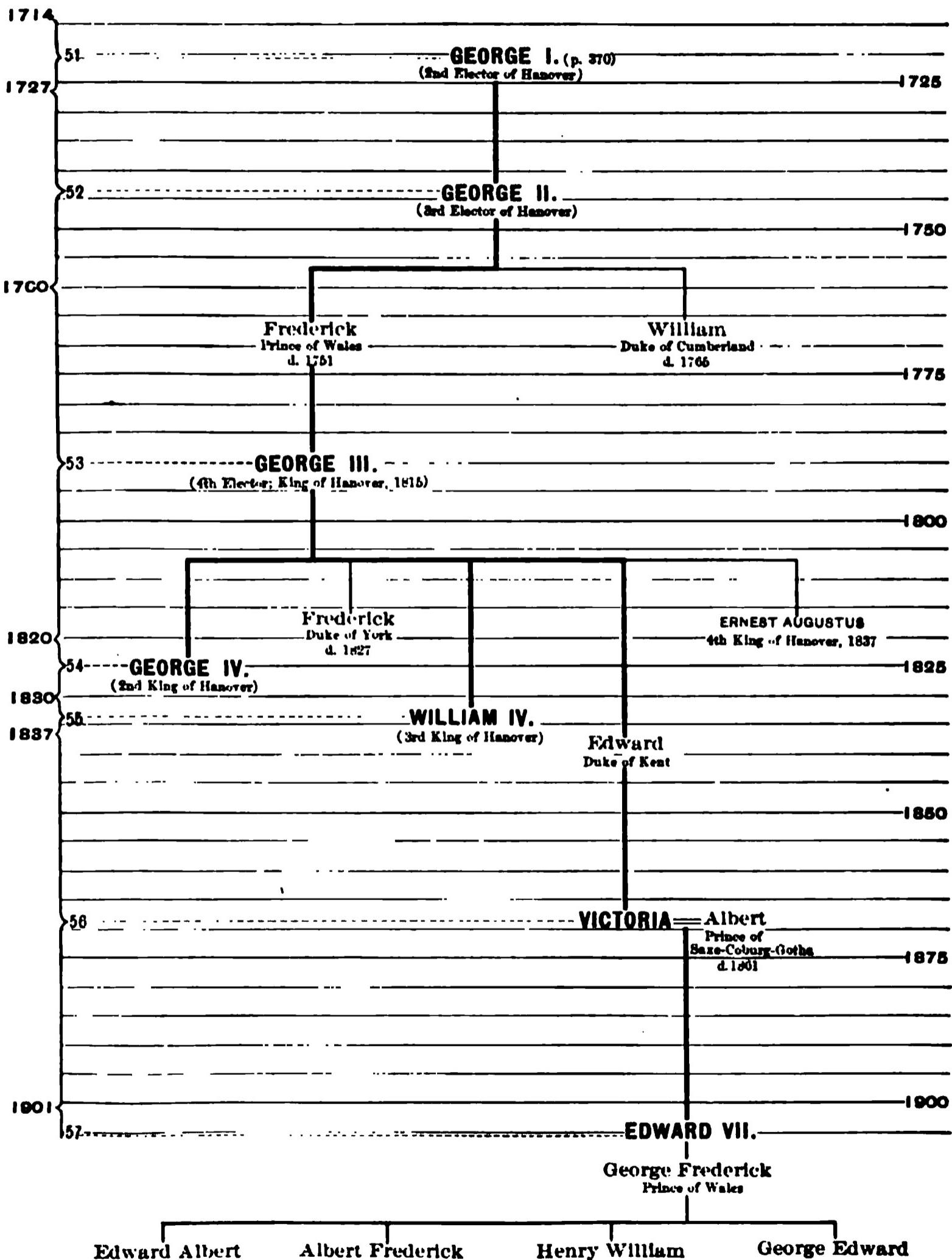
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THE HANOVERIAN LINE

Time scale, 40 years to one inch



CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REMOVAL OF ABUSES (1820-1850)

AFTER peace was restored in 1815, the Tories remained in power with Lord Liverpool as prime minister; but the growing strength of the reform movement gradually divided **561. Political changes** them into two factions. In 1822 the liberal wing, headed **(1820-1837)** by George Canning, Huskisson, and Peel, gained control of the party. Canning was a very able statesman, and an advocate of internal reforms, such as religious toleration and freedom of trade. His death in 1827 brought the conservative wing again into power, but in the elections which followed the death of George IV., three years later, the Whigs secured a strong majority, and the seven years' reign of William IV. (1830-1837) was a period of radical reforms under the leadership of Lord Grey, which the honest but simple-minded king vainly tried to check.

The reforms of Canning, Huskisson, and Peel dealt with economic rather than political evils. England had for centuries carried the theory of a protective tariff to extremes. **562. Relaxation of the protective tariff** The navigation acts protected traders; the "corn laws" enriched the landowners; and cloth duties aided the weavers. Now, as industries became diversified, rival interests clashed. The farmer wished to shut out competition in grain (called "corn" in England) and other food stuffs, but favored free importation of cloths. The silk spinner and the cloth manufacturer desired cheaper food; but the former demanded the exclusion of spun silk, and the latter wanted everything freed from duties except foreign cloths.

The granting of trade privileges with the United States after 1815 was the first step toward breaking down the protectionist structure in England. In 1823 an act for "Reciprocity of Duties" was passed, to end a tariff war with Prussia, Portugal, and the Netherlands; and Huskisson's Bill, lowering both import and export duties on wool and silk, followed (1824). The results were surprising. Although forty million pounds of wool were imported in a single year, the price of English wool was not lowered, because with open markets the demand for goods increased as fast as the supply of raw materials.

Meanwhile the question of religious equality was being powerfully agitated. In 1823 Daniel O'Connell, the greatest of Irish patriots, organized a Catholic Association, which soon became so powerful as to control practically all elections in Ireland. The government dissolved the Association as illegal, but another was immediately formed. In England the Whigs redoubled their attacks on the antiquated Test and Corporation acts. Finally, in 1828, the Tories consented to repeal the clauses compelling officials to commune with the Church of England (thus admitting dissenters to office), but refused to alter the declaration against transubstantiation.

In 1828 O'Connell was elected to Parliament, although it was clear that he would refuse to take the oath. This event

563. Re-
moval of
religious
disabilities



STATUE OF DANIEL O'CONNELL, DUBLIN.

convinced Wellington and Peel that they must choose between Catholic emancipation and civil war; and in 1829 the Catholic Relief Bill was passed, by which Catholics were made eligible for seats in Parliament and for all offices except those which involved direct control over the church or the crown (*e.g.* that of regent).

In 1831 a sweeping bill for equalizing representation was framed by Lord John Russell, leader of the House of Commons in Lord Grey's Whig ministry. This bill failed to pass in the lower house by a small majority, but the ministry, confident that the nation demanded this reform, decided to appeal to the country. In the excited election which followed, the party opposed to reform lost a hundred seats, and would have lost more had not the rotten boroughs been beyond the reach of argument. In the new House of Commons the bill was passed by a majority of 136, but failed by a majority of 41 in the House of Lords. This deliberate resistance to the will of the country provoked riots in different parts of the country; vast meetings, numbering as high as 100,000 persons, assembled to protest; a revolution was threatened. The ministry offered the Lords a chance to yield gracefully by framing and passing a fresh bill by a majority of 162, but the Lords were obstinate. The prime minister, Earl Grey, now asked William IV. to create enough new peers to make a majority in favor of the bill; but the monarch, reluctant to do so radical an act, appealed to the Lords to respect the manifest wish of the nation, and by the advice and example of the Duke of Wellington enough of its opponents refrained from voting to assure the passage of the Reform Bill in June, 1832.

By the terms of this bill (1) the rotten boroughs were wholly or partly disfranchised, 56 of the smallest being deprived of two representatives each, 31 others with a larger population being deprived of one representative each, and thus

564. **Reform Bill**
565. **Effects of Russell's Reform Bill**

143 seats in the House of Commons being left vacant and unassigned; (2) the gaps were refilled by adding 65 new members in the larger counties, by giving two members each to Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and 18 other large towns, by giving one member each to 21 smaller towns, and (later) by giving 13 more representatives to Scotland and Ireland; (3) in the towns, every householder with premises of £10 yearly value received the right to vote; in the counties copyholders (manorial tenants holding their land by ancient custom) and leaseholders were enfranchised.

The first House of Commons elected on the new suffrage basis

contained 486 Whigs and 172 Tories, ~~and the Whigs~~ ^{political conditions} were in control (1832-1841) most of the time for the next thirty years. Viscount Melbourne, who succeeded Lord Grey as the head of the Whig party in 1834, was prime minister when William died in 1837; and to him fell the guidance of the new queen, the eighteen-year-old Victoria.

Since no woman could inherit the crown of Hanover, the personal union between



QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1837.

that country and Great Britain now came to an end. In 1840 the young queen married her cousin Prince Albert of Saxe-

Coburg-Gotha (a small German state), who "accepted at once his position as the husband of the queen of a constitutional country . . . and constituted himself a sort of minister without portfolio of art and education." In 1841 a Tory reaction placed Sir Robert Peel in power; but in 1846 his adoption of the policy of tariff reform (§ 578) caused a disastrous split in his party. Peel and about forty followers thenceforth acted as independents in politics, and the remaining Tories took the name of Conservatives.

Besides Peel, the most notable figure of the period was Lord Palmerston, whose almost continuous service as a Cabinet minister from 1809 to 1865 shows the esteem in which he was held, first by the Tories and later by the Whigs. He was a self-confident, independent, rather aggressive man, who found difficulty in working in harmony with the other members of the ministry. He had the type of mind which grasps a situation quickly, and is impatient of deliberation. He so offended the queen by neglecting to consult her before taking important action, and by modifying his plans after they had received her approval, that in 1850 she administered to him a stinging rebuke. In 1854 he was even forced out of office because of his failure to do what athletes call "team work"; but he soon returned with added strength, for he had a keen knowledge of the British people as a whole, he was not too high-minded to cater to their desires, and his successful foreign policy flattered their pride.

On the heels of the Reform Bill, as a natural result of giving power to the middle classes, followed various minor reforms.

668. Municipal reform (1835) Up to this time members of borough corporations held their position for life, and usually elected their successors. They controlled elections to the House of Commons, and, as their meetings were secret, corruption naturally resulted. They often possessed special monopoly rights under ancient charters. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835 provided

(1) for the organization of two-chambered "city" governments, composed of aldermen and councilors; (2) for the division of the cities into wards; (3) for the popular election of the officers of corporations by the people; (4) for the abolition of special trade privileges.

In 1834 the entire system of the Poor Law was revised, because of faults in its administration, which tended to increase rather than to check pauperism. The custom then was for the towns to distribute small sums to poor families, supplementing what their members could earn. Under this system one seventh of all the population received poor-relief, and in the year 1817 £12,000,000 was thus distributed among a population of only 11,000,000. By the act of 1834, no relief was to be given by the local or general government to any able-bodied person except in work-houses.

Up to this time, the clergy had regularly collected tithes of all the produce of their parishes at harvest time, from nonconformists and churchmen alike; but in 1835 nonconformists were relieved by the Tithe and Commutation Act from paying tithes of produce to the clergy of the established church, but were required instead to pay a definite rent charge (or land tax) in money, this rent being based on the average price of grain during a definite period.

In the same year, 1835, measures were passed authorizing the publication of the voting lists of Parliament, thus enabling the constituents to follow the conduct of their representatives, and also the publication of parliamentary debates, by which the public were enlightened on general political questions, and on the motives and actions of the government.

Another class of reforms was wholly humanitarian in character. Such was the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions in 1833. The industries in many British colonies had long been carried on largely by

means of slave labor, although the courts ruled (1772) that any slave who set foot upon the soil of *England* became thereby a free man while in England. In order to lessen the shock to colonial industries, the act provided that the manumitted slaves should remain in "apprenticeship" for a period varying from five to seven years, and reimbursed the slave owners for the damage to their interests by the payment of £20,000,000. In 1833 the child-slaves in the factories had their hours of labor reduced from as high as eighteen to twelve hours a day. The criminal code, too, was made less merciless, by the abolition of the death penalty for a hundred minor crimes in 1823; and in 1844 beginnings were made of a system of prison reform, which included attempts to educate and transform the convict from a scourge to a useful member of society.

Until the year 1833, all elementary education in England was carried on wholly in private schools, church schools, or schools endowed by charitable persons. Only one child in four received any schooling whatever. The year after the passage of the Reform Bill, Parliament appropriated £20,000 to aid communities to build schoolhouses (1833). Four years later a Department of Education was formed, and was intrusted with a much larger sum, to be expended on deserving schools. This, of course, involved a system of government inspection. The department used this grant to aid certain colleges, to provide for the training of teachers and the building of new schools where needed, and to increase the salaries of teachers.

Meanwhile, the laboring classes discovered the sources of their power, and through the organization of trades unions sought to better their condition as regards wages, hours of labor, and protection from injury while at work. Isolated unions were formed early in the nineteenth century, but existing laws against combinations (which were then

571. State
aid to
education

572. Rise
of trades
unions

deemed injurious to the public weal) hampered their growth. In 1824-1825 these laws were repealed; and thereafter the growth of trades unions was very rapid, especially after the passage of the Reform Bill, and again at the time of the second Chartist agitation (§ 575). This growth was aided by the steady development of the factory system, which massed many thousands of artisans pursuing the same trade in a single large town.

At the same time, other forces were tending to stimulate England's manufacturing industries. From 1802 to 1820 Telford and Macadam were introducing everywhere their improved method of road-making, to the great advantage of commerce. The first steam railway in England, running from Stockton to Darlington, was built in 1825; five years later an important line was built from Manchester to Liverpool; and in 1837 came the first passage of ships (*the Sirius* and the *Great Western*, from Bristol) across the Atlantic Ocean wholly by steam power—an event which was soon followed by the creation of a regular transatlantic steamship service. The needle telegraph, patented by Cooke and Wheatston in 1837, was put into general use through the agency of the Electric Telegraph Company in 1846. Thus the locomotive, the steamship, and the electric telegraph were the gifts of the first half of the century to the last half.

During the early part of the century, Ireland drifted into a "Tithe War" against the hated church establishment, which was maintained on a large and wasteful scale, although Protestants were numerous only in Ulster. There were in Ireland 160 Church of England parishes, maintained at a yearly cost of £117,000, which contained not a single Protestant. In the year 1832, 9000 crimes, of which 242 were murders, showed the general discontent existing among the people. Tithes absolutely could not be collected, for the collectors were murdered and the police driven off.

573. Railroads,
steamboats,
and the
telegraph

574. Reform
in Ireland

The government resorted to severe repressive measures: political meetings were strictly prohibited; persons charged with political crimes were taken to England for trial; and the Habeas Corpus Act was again and again suspended. All these repressive measures were useless. So long as Irish Catholics were ruled wholly by Protestants, were forced to pay tithes to Protestant clergymen, and could obtain an education only by abjuring their faith, so long was disorder certain to continue.

After a long time the English statesmen began to relax, instead of tightening, the bonds of Ireland. The first reform attempted was the reduction of the Irish church establishment in 1833, by lessening the number of the higher ecclesiastics. After five years more of agitation, the Tithe War was partly settled by an act providing that government should pay to the clergy in Ireland the sum due them for tithes, and should collect its equivalent in the form of a land tax.

Although Russell's Reform Bill enfranchised the middle classes, it left the poorer workingmen still at the mercy of what

575. Pro- they considered an aristocratic government. Shortly **posed** after the accession of Queen Victoria, a movement was **"Chartist"** started for the adoption of the so-called "People's Char-

ter" (1838), which included in its provisions six reforms: (1) equalization of parliamentary districts; (2) abolition of property qualifications for seats in Parliament; (3) adoption of manhood suffrage; (4) payment of salaries to members of the lower house; (5) voting by ballot; (6) annual elections to Parliament. Agitation was widespread about 1840, died out as prosperity increased, and was again revived in 1848, in sympathy with the revolutionary spirit then rife in western Europe. Enormous mass meetings were called, and a plan was formed for presenting to Parliament a petition containing a million signatures. But the petition evoked little enthusiasm, the mass meetings ended in talk, and the entire movement collapsed before the end of the year.

The working classes were more successful in their fight to secure a cheaper food supply, for in this case they had the support of the wealthy manufacturing and commercial classes. Since the farming population increased only one twelfth as fast as the manufacturing population, it is clear that the price of food would continually rise, unless foreign



AN ENGLISH FARM HOUSE.

food stuffs were freely imported; but foreign grain was artificially excluded by sweeping "corn laws" passed near the close of the Napoleonic wars. Under these laws, no wheat was to be imported so long as grain was selling under 80 shillings a quarter.

Against the Whigs, who refused to remedy these laws, an agitation began as early as 1837. Some manufacturers organized an Anti-Corn-Law League, under the leadership of Richard Cobden (a successful calico printer and a student of economic

problems) and of John Bright (a manufacturer, of Quaker ancestry, a man of notably high character, and a fine orator).¹ Pamphlets were published, songs were composed, mass meetings were held. Every year the League secured the introduction of a bill in Parliament for the abolition of the Corn Laws, but it as regularly suffered defeat until Robert Peel became prime minister in 1841.

Peel's policy was a compromise between free trade and protection. He believed, he said, in buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest market, except in the case of grain, sugar, and timber. He also believed in direct instead of indirect taxation. Hence in 1842 he procured the reduction of revenue duties on many articles, and substituted a small income tax; in 1845 he removed the duty from four hundred and thirty other articles, and increased the income tax; and the same year he devised a scheme for a sliding duty on grain, which decreased as the price of grain increased. This measure relieved purchasers of food stuffs a little, but it caused great fluctuations in the price of grain; for speculators artificially raised the price of British grain in order to decrease the amount of the duty.

While affairs were in this unsettled condition, came the bad season of 1845. The wheat crop was ruined by heavy rains, and in Ireland (whose soil in the best seasons suffers from poor drainage) not only the grain, but also the potatoes upon which the poorer classes relied for their sustenance, were utterly ruined. Starvation was frequent all over the island. The British government established relief works at a cost of £1,000,000 a month, but refused to "interfere with the regular course of trade in food stuffs." It thus drew laborers from the fields, and at the same time en-

¹The government unintentionally aided the free-trade propaganda by its adoption of the penny-post system (1839), by means of which the publications of the League could be disseminated far and wide at small cost.

couraged speculators in foreign grains. But even if the corn laws had not put the price of food beyond the reach of the poverty-stricken sufferers, it would have been impossible to create a sufficiently rapid flow of foreign grain into the British Isles to make good the shortage. At last the conscience of the British nation was awakened by the terrible suffering in Ireland ; Lord John Russell declared his conversion to free trade in grain ; Peel did the same, and resigned his office, but was immediately reappointed, since the champions of the corn laws could not secure a majority in the lower house ; Wellington, as before in similar crises, withdrew his opposition ; and the corn laws were practically abolished in 1846.

The method adopted was a rapid reduction of duties, in three successive years, to a fixed rate of one shilling a quarter. It was feared that so abrupt a change would ruin the farmers ; but the steady growth of manufactures caused such an in-



CASTLE OF ROSS, KILLARNEY, IRELAND.

creased demand in the towns for milk, meat, straw, and other agricultural products as to make good the loss of profits on grain. In 1849 came the total repeal of the navigation acts, and Great Britain enjoyed free trade, except for certain duties for revenue only.

The great famine of 1845–1846, which converted the British into a free-trade nation, caused untold suffering in Ireland.

579. Effect of the "famine year" on Ireland Parliament voted £10,000,000 for the relief of distress, but this sum was far too little. In the four years from 1846 to 1850, the population of Ireland decreased more than two millions, by death or emigration. Suffering led to crime and pauperism. Rents could no longer be collected from the starving tenants, nor could other tenants be secured if these were evicted. Many Irish landlords, hard pressed for money, sold their estates to wealthy Englishmen and Scotchmen, and thus was intensified the most serious cause of trouble in Ireland, the "absentee landlordism" which was to form the problem of the following half century.

The long-repressed forces of reform won many important victories between 1820 and 1850. The common people, massed in factory towns, learned the power that dwells in numbers and in unity, and the governing class grudgingly yielded in the face of threatened revolution. Roman Catholics secured political equality with Protestants. The rotten boroughs — ever present source of political corruption — were abolished, and coal and iron regions gained their due influence in Parliament. The remaining boroughs received a popular instead of an autocratic government. Against the opposition of the old landowning aristocracy, the navigation acts and the corn laws were repealed, so that the people might have food in plenty to eat, materials in plenty to manufacture, and customers in plenty to buy their goods. With the advent of democracy, the child, the slave, the pauper, even the criminal,

began to receive rational treatment and protection. Ireland alone — misled and misunderstood — failed to gain some measure of freedom during this period.

TOPICS

(1) How long did the personal union of Great Britain and Hanover continue? (2) Do you think the connection was, on the whole, beneficial or harmful to Great Britain? (3) Show why it was thought improper for a Catholic to become regent of the kingdom. (4) What motives influenced the Lords to resist the Reform Bill of 1832? (5) State exactly what is meant by a "ten-pound" householder. (6) Review the successive steps by which the freedom of the English press became complete. (7) Name all the conditions you can think of which tended to prevent justice being done to Ireland. (8) Show how each clause of the People's Charter would have strengthened the political power of the lower classes. (9) Mention all the classes which the corn laws injured, and all which they benefited. (10) How was it possible to pass corn-law legislation through Parliament?

Suggestive topics

(11) The career of Daniel O'Connell. (12) The great liberal movement on the Continent in 1848 ("The Year of Revolutions"). (13) Some *Corn Law Rhymes*. (14) Wellington's services to England as a political leader after 1828. (15) Scenes in Ireland in 1846. (16) The first English railway. (17) A typical "rotten borough." (18) Character of William IV. (19) The early life of Queen Victoria. (20) The monster charter petition.

Search topics

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CHAPTER XXXV.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL INTERESTS (1820-1858)

AFTER the fall of Napoleon, the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia in 1815 formed a "Holy Alliance," which claimed to be a league to make the Christian religion a standard for the behavior of states. Its real object was stated in a minor clause, by which the rulers agreed to "afford one another assistance in all cases." In other words, it was proposed to defend absolute monarchy against democratic movements. France soon joined this alliance, but Great Britain held aloof, Lord Castlereagh, the foreign secretary, declaring that the constitution of the United Kingdom prevented her from joining such a union. Furthermore, when in 1823 the Holy Alliance was planning to employ its forces for restoring to Spain her revolted colonies in Spanish America, Canning, who had succeeded Castlereagh, proposed to President Monroe that Great Britain and the United States should make a joint protest against this action; and although Monroe preferred to make an independent protest, the two powers acted in harmony in recognizing the independence of the Spanish colonies.

581. Eng-
land and
the Holy
Alliance

Behind this action was a distrust of Russia which has ever since influenced the international policy of Great Britain. In 1820 the Greeks began an agitation for throwing off the rule of Turkey, which had been marked by intolerable cruelty. The Russian czars had long coveted the territory of Turkey in Europe, which controlled the passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean; and Russia now aided the Greek revolution, hoping thus to gain some advantage which would bring her a step nearer Constantinople.

582. Eng-
land and
Greece

The Greeks appealed to England for aid, dreading lest a war between Russia and Turkey should prove their own destruction; and Canning, rather reluctantly, agreed to act with Russia and France in putting pressure upon Turkey, believing that Russia could be held in check more easily as an ally than as a foe. As the sultan remained obstinate, a fleet of British, French, and Russian war ships entered the Bay of Navarino in October, 1827, and after a four hours' fight entirely destroyed the Turkish fleet of twenty-eight ships of war. The Turks hastened to make peace on the basis of Greek independence; and the Pentarchy, frightened at the bugbear of republicanism, forced on the new state a monarch from among the German princes.

Ten years later England was threatened with a revolt in her own colony of Canada, where the government was poorly adapted to local conditions. In 1791 the younger Pitt had created separate governments for the lower St. Lawrence valley, where the population was almost wholly French in blood and traditions, and for the district north of the Great Lakes, which was settled almost wholly by emigrants from England and Scotland, or by loyalists who removed from the United States after the treaty of 1783. This policy tended to perpetuate instead of to destroy race distinctions, and led to constant quarrels between the legislature of Lower Canada and the officers of the crown. In 1837 revolts against British rule broke out; and, though they were easily put down by military force, the lesson of the American Revolution was not forgotten, and it was thought best to reorganize the government of Canada. The result was the legislative union of the two provinces in 1840, into one self-governing colony; later (1867-1873) the two provinces were united with others in the Dominion of Canada, with a federal government.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the globe, Australia was being rescued from the fate to which she had hitherto seemed

to be destined as a convict colony. Now many industrious and upright colonists from Ireland and Scotland were emigrating thither to utilize the rich grazing lands, and the "ticket-of-leave men" (as the convicts were called) became unwelcome. About 1835, when there were 80,000 Europeans in Australia, New South Wales began a fight against the system of transportation for convicts. She won a victory for herself, but convicts continued to be sent to Western Australia and Tasmania until the discovery of the rich gold fields (1851), which doubled the population in two years, and made Australia an unfit place for convicts. In 1857 a penal act was passed which practically abolished "transportation." During the decade from 1850 to 1860 all the Australian colonies (New South Wales, founded 1778; Tasmania, 1825; Western Australia, 1829; South Australia, 1834; New Zealand, 1841; Victoria, 1851; Queensland, 1859) began a new and vigorous life, most of them under self-governing constitutions. In 1901 all except New Zealand were joined in the federal union called the Commonwealth of Australia.

It was during this period that Great Britain first gained a foothold upon Chinese territory. Opium was produced in large quantities in India, and found a market in Chinese ports. In 1839 the Chinese government prohibited the importation of the drug, to the great distress of the British merchants who were getting rich from the traffic. They continued to import opium, and appealed to the home government to support them; but they were informed that "Her Majesty's government can not interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country with which they trade."

Before this message reached China, the Chinese government had searched British vessels in Chinese ports, and had confiscated and destroyed opium valued at £1000. In spite of its previous dictum, the ministry declared this action an insult

584. Colonization of Australia

585. Beginnings in the Far East

Ransome,
History of
England,
960

to the British government, and dispatched a fleet to Canton. After a one-sided war, China was forced to purchase peace by the cession of the island of Hongkong (which later became the greatest British stronghold in the far East), by throwing open five Chinese ports to British trade, and by paying an indemnity of £4,500,000 (1842).

Meanwhile the specter of Russian aggression reappeared to terrify the British government. About 1832 Persia and 586. **The Kabul fiasco** Afghanistan (one of which commanded access to India by way of the Persian Gulf, and the other by way of the valley of the Indus) fell under the influence of Russia, and a few years later the czar undertook to protect the sultan of Turkey against his rebellious vassal the viceroy of Egypt. To fore-stall danger, Palmerston, the British foreign secretary, induced the Great Powers to guarantee the independence of Turkey (1841); and Lord Auckland, governor general of India, imposed upon Afghanistan a ruler favorable to Great Britain (1839). In 1842 the deposed ruler stirred up a revolt in Kabul, and forced the small British garrison to agree to evacuate the country; but the natives attacked the soldiers on their march from Kabul to the frontier, and out of 4000 fighting men and 12,000 civilians, only one man escaped. In 1843 an avenging army invaded Afghanistan, destroyed the great bazaar of Kabul, rescued the women who had been left in the hands of the Afghans the previous year, and then withdrew from the country.

This invading army passed through Sind without permission of the native chiefs, who believed that the fiasco in Afghanistan proved the weakness of the Indian government, and therefore at once plunged into war. The contest was short, and the victories of Sir Charles Napier led to the annexation of Sind in 1843. The Punjab (the district including the middle course of the Indus and its tributaries) was occupied by a race of fierce warriors called the Sikhs,

who had several times invaded Hindustan. In 1848 they ventured on a fresh invasion, but met with a crushing defeat, and the Punjab was added to the British dominions. The Sikhs became later among the most valiant of the warriors enrolled in the service of the East India Company.

In South Africa, also, the problem of British control over alien races proved hard to solve. When Cape Colony was seized by the British a second time, in 1806, its European population consisted of about 27,000 persons, mostly of Dutch descent, known as Boers, or "farmers." Their business — stock farming — kept them scattered and ignorant; their distance from the seat of government in Europe made them impatient of control; their struggle for existence against savages and wild beasts made them sturdy fighters; and their practice of slaveholding made them cruel in their treatment of the natives.

588. Difficulties in
Cape Colony

This last trait soon brought them into conflict with the English missionaries in South Africa, and later with the colonial government. The quarrel was intensified in 1833-1834, when slavery was abolished in all British colonies; for the Dutch lost 39,000 slaves, and received from the indemnity fund (as they claimed) less than half their actual value.

During the same year a war with the native race of Kaffirs led to the annexation of certain territories on the frontiers, in order to secure a better natural boundary against depredations. The British government believed that the whites had provoked the war, and therefore restored to the Kaffirs their territory, and thus further embittered the Dutch.

The Dutch farmers now decided to seek new homes where they could be free from British control. During 1836 and 1837 eight thousand Boers loaded their household goods upon ox-carts, "inspanned" their oxen, and "trekked" northward into unsettled districts (map, p. 527) — one between the Orange River and the Vaal River, the other between the

589. Boer
emigration
from Cape
Colony

Vaal and the Limpopo. "They were practically independent, for the colonial government did not attempt to interfere with *Bryce, Impressions of South Africa, 128* their internal affairs. But Britain still claimed that they were, in strict intendment of law, British subjects,¹ and she gave no recognition to the government they set up." Between 1838 and 1842 a large body migrated into Natal; but later, finding that Great Britain claimed sovereignty over that territory, most of them returned to the interior.

In 1852, when Cape Colony was involved in a war with the Kaffirs, the Boers north of the Vaal induced Great Britain to conclude the Sand River Convention, by which they secured their independence, on condition that slavery should not be tolerated in the Trans-Vaal, or country "across the Vaal." In 1854, by the Bloemfontein Convention, similar concessions were made to the Orange Free State, between the Orange and the Vaal River.

Ever since her check in 1841, Russia had been strengthening her armies and navies, especially in the Black Sea, for **590. Re-opening of the Eastern question** an attack upon Turkey. In 1852 she seemed to see her opportunity in a dispute over the Christian sanctuaries at Jerusalem, which the sultan decided in favor of the Latin as against the Greek Church. The czar made this decision an excuse for demanding a recognition of his right to a protectorate over all Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire,² but betrayed his real purpose by telling the British minister that Turkey was "a sick man, a very sick man," and proposing to divide the spoils in case anything should happen to the invalid (January, 1853). Great Britain refused the bribe, but the czar felt strong enough to act alone. In July a Russian army invaded Wallachia, and in November a Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope.

¹ At this time it was still a maxim of English common law that no person could strip himself of his nationality.

² By an old treaty (1774) Turkey promised Russia "to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches."

Great Britain was in a ferment. The premier (another name for prime minister), Lord Aberdeen, was averse to war, and Mr. Gladstone held that the czar's claim was implied in the treaty of 1774; but the English merchants could not bear to think of Russia in possession of Constantinople, and so Aberdeen was first forced into war in defense of Turkey, and later (1855) was compelled to give way to the more warlike Palmerston.

To show why Russia should not be allowed to hold Constantinople was easy. Her resources and population (the largest in Europe) were subject to the will of an autocratic and very ambitious ruler. With these resources he could easily create upon the Black Sea an enormous fleet, for which that sea would constitute a vast inland harbor with the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles — at their narrowest point less than a mile wide — as its only outlet. The alarmists in England pictured the Russian fleet, when created, as steaming into the Mediterranean and cutting off communication with the East, while Russian forces were operating against India, Persia, and the far East, the chief sources of commerce and wealth for centuries to come; or as seizing Gibraltar and ravaging the coast of Asia Minor, of Greece, Italy, and France, in case of a European war. If shattered by an overwhelming coalition of the other powers, said they, the fleet could easily retire into the Black Sea, and there reequip and refit in a refuge safe from any possibility of attack. Furthermore, it was clear that an ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure; for if the czar should once effect a lodgment in Constantinople, it would be almost impossible to expel him.

Influenced by such arguments, Great Britain and France formed an alliance with Turkey in March, 1854. After some minor operations, it was decided to attack the great Russian naval depot and arsenal at Sebastopol, near the southern end of the peninsula of the Crimea. An allied

591. Potentous Russia

592. The Crimean War

army landed twenty miles north of this fortress in September, 1854, and, advancing southward, began a siege which lasted nearly a year. In battles at Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, and



THE CRIMEA.

at Sebastopol itself, the allies won great glory; but the campaign as a whole was grossly mismanaged. The British War Department had become inefficient during the long period of peace. The officers in command were weak, the soldiers,

though brave, were badly disciplined, the commissary and hospital service was hopelessly disorganized. Cholera, cold, bad food, and lack of medicines took half the British army from the ranks.

In January, 1855, Sardinia came to the help of the allies with 15,000 men. In February the warlike Czar Nicholas died, and when Sebastopol fell six months later, his successor, Alexander II., decided to make peace and bide his time. By the treaty of Paris (1856) Russia abandoned her claim to a protectorate, on the sultan's promise to guard the interests of Greek Christians in his dominions; Russia and Turkey returned their conquests; Russia dismantled her fortresses and reduced her fleets on the Black Sea; the Dardanelles and the Danube River were thrown open to ships of all nations in times of peace; and all the Great Powers engaged to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Turkey.

Hardly was the Eastern question temporarily settled when the Palmerston government was called upon to face a still greater danger. The discerning had long seen that India, with its population of 180,000,000 people, could not be ruled indefinitely by the East India Company. In the first

**593. Condi-
tions in
India (1857)**

place, the company, by its most beneficial measures — its introduction of modern inventions (e.g. railways and the telegraph), the protection of Christian missionaries, and its forcible abolition of heathen rites like the “suttee” (widow-burning) had become very unpopular among the ignorant natives. Furthermore, the activity of Russia on the northern frontier led to a belief that Great Britain as a world power was declining, and that Russia was destined to take her place. Meanwhile the East India Company's control depended upon the efficiency of its army, which was officered by Europeans, but was made up in very large proportion of natives of India, called Sepoys. The incompetency of the company is shown by the fact that, although it was known that the Sepoys had a superstition that the company's rule would end on the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassey, no proper steps were taken to forestall revolt.

In the spring of 1857 broke out a series of small mutinies, caused by the adoption of a new type of rifle, in which greased cartridges were used ; for it was whispered that the new cartridges were an ingenious device of the British to outrage native religious beliefs by using the fat of the cow, sacred to the Hindu, and of the hog, unclean to the Mussulman. The revolts were general through the upper Ganges basin, the three centers being Delhi (where a descendant of the Grand Mogul was set up as ruler), Cawnpur, and Lucknow. Everywhere, and especially at Cawnpur, the mutineers committed unspeakable atrocities upon the British men, women, and children that fell into their hands. Fortunately for British rule, the Sikhs of the Punjab, the various tribes of the lower Ganges valley, and the troops in the Dekkan, all remained loyal. Fortunately, too, the British government had just dispatched troops for service in China, and, when these arrived at Cape Colony, the governor assumed the responsibility of directing them to India.

594. The Sepoy mutiny (1857-1858)



THE KASHMERE GATE, DELHI

In May, 1857, General Nicholson with only 7,000 men marched from the Punjab into the heart of the revolted district, and, after a siege of four months, stormed Delhi, 595. *Re-* a walled city defended by 100,000 soldiers trained to *mutiny* warfare by the British. Meanwhile General Havelock advanced through lower Bengal to Cawnpur, and then passed on to Lucknow, which was still held by a small British garrison after a siege of eighty-seven days. The capture of these three places checked the conflagration, and within the next twelve months the embers of revolt were entirely stamped out.

As a result of these events, the charter of the East India Company was revoked, and India passed directly under the crown, a Secretary of State for India being added to the British Cabinet. The actual task of government was intrusted to a council composed of men experienced in Indian affairs, and to a governor general appointed by the crown.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL INTERESTS (1820-1858) 507

As soon as the Sepoy mutiny was suppressed, Great Britain turned her attention to renewed Chinese troubles (§ 585). As in 1839, the trouble arose out of an apparent insult to Great Britain by Chinese officers, who forcibly arrested men on a vessel flying the British flag (1856). The men were pirates, and the flag was carried without legal right; but nevertheless the British bombarded and captured Canton, and dictated terms of peace (1858). France joined in the war, on the ground of some preexisting claims against China; and by the treaty the Yangtze valley was thrown open to British and French missionaries and traders, and diplomatic relations were established by China with both countries. China, it is needless to say, paid the expenses of the war. A year later the treaty had to be enforced by the invasion of China and the capture of Peking.



VICTORIA CROSS.

Decoration for military and naval service. Made from cannon captured in the Crimean War.

In this period the fruits of the Napoleonic wars appeared in Great Britain's foreign relations, especially those with Russia. Jealousy and suspicion of this power led British statesmen in 1827 into a hollow alliance with her against Turkey, and in 1854 into an equally hollow alliance with France against Russia. Greece was worth saving; but Turkey — preserved at such a cost of blood and treasure — was a heavy and an unprofitable burden. Elsewhere, too, Britain shouldered new burdens without much regard to consequences. The oppres-

596. Second
Chinese
war

597 Summary

sion and robbery of China was indefensible, that of Afghanistan both indefensible and profitless. But in the great dependencies of the empire—Canada, Cape Colony, Australia—the period was one of growth; and in India even the great mutinies gave an opportunity for beneficial changes of administration.

TOPICS

- Suggestive topics**
- (1) Show how Russian ambitions were stimulated during the Napoleonic period. (2) Explain why the Holy Alliance was so named. (3) What reason had the United States in this period to dread Russian aggression? (4) What events in this period show that Great Britain profited by her experience with the thirteen American colonies? (5) Do you know any colonies besides Australia to which Great Britain has ever transported criminals? (6) Can you suggest some of the evils of a system of transportation for crime? (7) Was the penalty inflicted on China in 1842 proportionate to the offense committed by her? (8) With the aid of a map, show the importance of Afghanistan to India. (9) In the same way, show the importance of the Punjab. (10) Why did the possession of Natal seem especially desirable to the Boers after their "Great Trek"?

- Search topics**
- (11) Russian advances toward Constantinople under Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. (12) Lord Byron in the Greek Revolution. (13) Character of the Boer civilization in South Africa. (14) The work of Florence Nightingale. (15) Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. (16) The Declaration of Paris, issued after the treaty of Paris. (17) The defense of Lucknow. (18) Causes of the Canadian rebellion of 1837. (19) Convict life in Australia. (20) The capture of Peking in 1860.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

REFORMS AND EXPANSION (1858-1886)

EXCEPT for the brief "stop-gap" ministry of the Earl of Derby in 1858, Lord Palmerston held the premiership continu-

598. Great Britain and the United States (1861-1865) ously from the Crimean War to his death in 1865. Setting his face resolutely against political changes at home, he contented himself with directing British foreign policy and strengthening her army and navy, while Gladstone, his brilliant Chancellor of the Exchequer, skillfully managed the resulting financial problems. His last ministry (1859-1865) covered the period of the Civil War in the United States.

The blockade of the Confederate ports so completely cut off the supply of cotton to Great Britain that the mills in Lancashire were run but a few hours a week. Most of the workmen, and many manufacturers, were unwilling to buy relief by helping to perpetuate slavery, but the aristocratic and governing classes would have liked to see the revolted states victorious. The ministry permitted numerous vessels built for the Confederacy to put to sea from British ports, one of which, the *Alabama*, in two years destroyed sixty-five vessels, worth \$4,000,000, without ever having entered a Confederate port. The declaration of the United States minister, Charles F. Adams, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war," finally (1863) induced the British government to stop this practice, but not until friendly relations had been strained almost to the breaking point. In 1872 Great Britain was ordered by the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal to pay to the United States over £3,000,000 as damages for these violations of neutrality.

After Palmerston's death, in 1865, although Earl Russell and Lord Derby were for a time the nominal heads of the Liberal and the Conservative parties respectively, Gladstone and Disraeli, their lieutenants in the House of Commons, were the real party leaders. Gladstone was a sincere patriot, a brilliant financier, an eloquent orator; Disraeli was less earnest, more showy, more selfish. Each was con-

599 New political conditions

fronted with grave problems at home and abroad: Disraeli met them by catering to the popular demand; Gladstone by careful study of the merits of the question. Gladstone promoted reforms from conviction, Disraeli to "dish the Whigs," as he expressed it. In their foreign policies it is doubtful which did the more harm—Gladstone by his attempts to be more than just to his opponents, or

Disraeli by his unscrupulous and reckless "jingoism."

It was the task of the third quarter of the nineteenth century to destroy the political abuses still left after the earlier reform movement of 1832. In 1858 Derby secured the removal of the property qualification for seats in Parliament; and also such changes in the oath of supremacy as allowed Jews to become eligible to Parliament. In 1866, Russell introduced a moderate suffrage reform measure which pleased nobody, and he was compelled to



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

resign; but the very next year Disraeli passed the sweeping Reform Bill of 1867. This bill extended the borough franchise to all owners of houses and to all men who lived in hired lodgings worth £10 a year; and the county franchise to all owners of property worth £5 a year and to all tenants paying £12 rent; it also applied the principles of Russell's Bill of 1832 to the forty-six remaining rotten boroughs. Thus well-to-do workmen and small farmers received the right to vote—a long stride toward democracy.

In 1870, the establishment of a competitive civil service system reduced to a minimum the possibility of bribery by "patronage," and in 1871 voting by ballot was introduced so that tenants were freed from coercion by their landlords. In 1884 Gladstone's extension of household suffrage to the counties (thus enfranchising the agricultural laborers) made the suffrage practically universal; and his Redistribution of Seats Bill, passed the next year, determined the composition of Parliament as it exists to-day.

Hopeless of procuring justice under English rule, the Irish in 1859 organized the so-called Fenian movement, which

601. Fenianism and disestablishment found much support from Irishmen who had emigrated to America. At the close of the American Civil War, many of these returned to Ireland, merely to use their military experience for Irish freedom. An uprising which took place in 1867 was easily suppressed, and the Fenians in desperation began a course of terrorism. In December an attempt was made to rescue a Fenian from Clerkenwell Prison, and twelve persons were killed. This event convinced the nation that some concessions must be made to the Irish, and the Liberals came into power on the "platform" of disestablishment of the Irish Church. Within a year Gladstone carried through Parliament a bill by which the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland was wholly separated from the state, becoming a voluntary organization like the

Episcopal Church of the United States. It kept all its cathedrals and churches, and its clergy were indemnified for their personal losses due to the change; but the endowments which the church had acquired since the Restoration were converted to charitable and educational uses in Ireland.

Gladstone now took up the land question, which was continually becoming more acute. Owing to England's former policy of repressing manufactures in Ireland, farming was its chief industry. The land was leased without improvements — that is, the buildings, fencing, etc., were provided by the tenant; yet rents were high, and tenant hold-

602 Th.
first Irish
Land Act



AN IRISH PEASANT'S HOME.

ings were small, because of the density of population. Thus the margin of profit was small, especially as the climate and the lack of natural drainage made the crops uncertain. In bad seasons, the stewards, particularly those of absentee landlords, evicted those who failed to pay their rents — generally without any compensation for permanent improvements made during their tenancy — and re-leased to more desirable tenants. The Land Act of 1870 decreed that tenants who gave up their

holdings should be compensated for improvements, and provided for government loans to responsible tenants, by which they might purchase on mortgage the farms they occupied.

Up to the year 1870, there were no free elementary schools supported wholly by the state in England. One reason for
603. Public education this was that the Anglicans and the dissenters could not agree regarding the place of religion in formal education.

In 1870 Gladstone carried through Parliament an Education Act framed by Mr. Forster. This act authorized the election of School Boards with authority (1) to levy a definite local tax for the support of education, (2) to spend this money in improving existing schools, (3) to build and maintain new schools, (4) to fix a fee for tuition, (5) to compel the attendance of pupils. It was stipulated that in "Board Schools" no religious catechism, or "definitely dogmatic formularies," should be taught; that in schools which accepted state aid all religious instruction should be given before or after the regular session, and that attendance upon this instruction should be voluntary. The next year (1871), by the abolition of religious tests, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were for the first time opened to Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters.

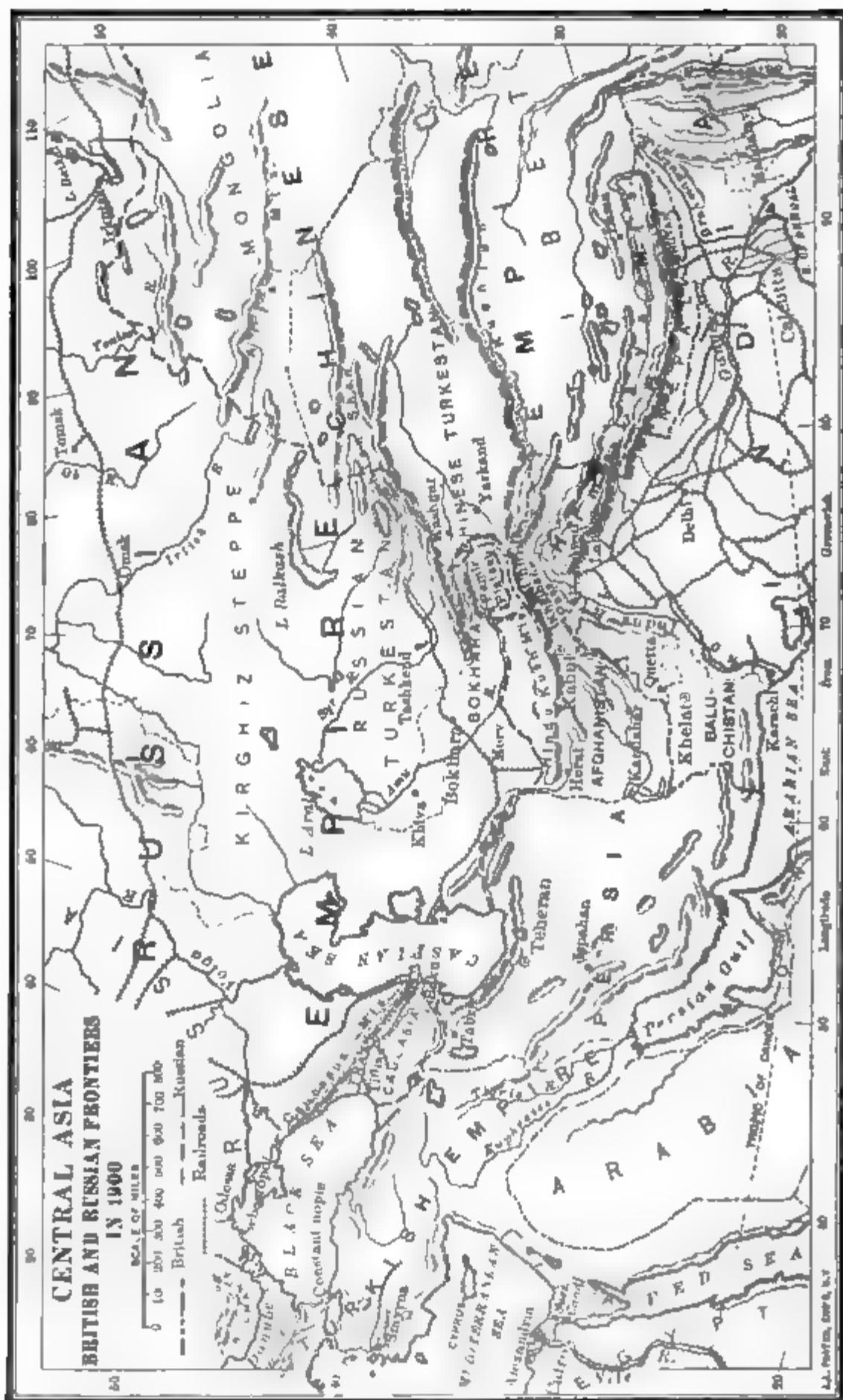
Before these reforms could be thoroughly tested, Gladstone was displaced by Disraeli (1874), who soon found a field for
604. The Russian-Turkish War (1877-1878) his "jingo" tendencies in the Eastern question. In 1875 the Greek Christians in Bulgaria revolted against Turkish misgovernment. Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, over which Turkey had a nominal suzerainty, joined in this revolt, which Turkey struggled fiercely to suppress. Russia at once made war on Turkey; but when her armies had forced the passes of the Balkans and were within only a hundred miles of Constantinople (December, 1877), Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield) dispatched a British fleet to the Bosphorus. Russia hastened to negotiate the peace of San Stephano with

Turkey, but as its terms seemed too favorable to the victor, Great Britain protested. At a Congress held at Berlin (1878), Bulgaria, although left tributary to Turkey, was given practical independence, and Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were made wholly independent of Turkey, thus forming a barrier between Russia and Constantinople. By a separate treaty Great Britain guaranteed the integrity of Turkey's Asiatic domains, receiving in return the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean. To the enormous crowd which welcomed the envoys back to London, Beaconsfield said, "I bring you peace with honor."

During the Turkish-Russian War, the Russians for the second time dispatched an agent to win over the ameer of Afghanistan. To increase the prestige of Great Britain in India, **605.** The Disraeli induced Parliament to bestow upon the queen ^{further} **East Af-** the title of Empress of India (1877), and the next year **ghanistan** British armies invaded Afghanistan and placed on the throne a ruler favorable to Great Britain. The experience of 1841-1842 was then repeated. Within a year (1878) a revolt took place, the new ameer was deposed, English residents were murdered, and an army was nearly destroyed. An avenging army under Lord Roberts inflicted several defeats upon the Afghans, and then the country was left to itself under a new ameer, who professed himself friendly to the British.



TURKEY AND THE COUNTRIES FREED
FROM TURKISH RULE, 1812-1880.



During the Mahdist revolt in the Egyptian Sudan (§ 608), the Russians occupied Merv, a most important base for operations against Afghanistan, and laid claim to various territories also claimed by Afghanistan. Great Britain protested, and matters became strained almost to the point of war; but an agreement was finally reached for the appointment of a joint commission to mark out the frontiers of Afghanistan. This commission completed its work in 1895, and the boundary thus defined was guaranteed by both countries.

The first experiment in maintaining a free state in the Transvaal proved an absolute failure. The population was scattered and roving. "The government was powerless to control either its white citizens or its native subjects; it was incapable of enforcing its laws, of collecting its taxes, . . . the powerful Zulu king, Cetawayo, [was] anxious to seize the first opportunity of attacking [the] country." At the request of many of its citizens, Great Britain reannexed the country in April, 1877, and all but one of the members of the late government took office under the new rulers. Paul Kruger and certain associates, however, soon became disaffected, and in December, 1880, they proclaimed anew the independence of the Transvaal.

In the short war which followed, the most important event was the battle of Majuba Hill (March, 1881), where a British force was surprised and disastrously defeated by a body of Boers. Gladstone, with his usual eagerness to right alleged wrongs, hastened to make peace with the rebels by the Pretoria Convention, signed August 3, 1881. By this convention the Boers were granted "complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty." In the London Convention, signed February 27, 1884, Great Britain allowed the word "suzerainty" to be dropped, and contented herself with an assertion of her right of veto over treaties with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State.

608. War
in the
Transvaal
(1881)

Report of
British
Commissioner, 1876

Preamble to
the Pretoria
Convention

The interest of Great Britain in northern Africa dates from 1869, when a stock company organized by a Frenchman named Ferdinand de Lesseps completed the Suez Canal; for good government in Egypt thus became a matter of international importance. This interest was greatly increased in 1875, when Beaconsfield purchased from the bankrupt khedive of Egypt his entire holding of 176,602 shares, more



THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

than a third of the stock of the company. Thenceforth France and Great Britain practically controlled the policy of the Egyptian government, and especially its finances, which had become disordered through the extravagance of the khedive's court, and through a reckless system of internal improvement.

In 1882 the Egyptian Minister of War, Arabi Pasha, headed a revolt to free the government from foreign interference. France refused to take decisive measures;

but a British fleet bombarded

Alexandria (July, 1882), a British army routed the rebel forces at Tel-el-Kebir (August, 1882), and order was restored. France, in chagrin at her rival's added prestige, protested against the continuance of a British army in Egypt, but Great Britain replied that "whenever security and tranquillity should be permanently restored," the British troops should be withdrawn. They are still in Egypt.

Arabi's revolt furnished an opportunity to the tribes in the

basin of the upper Nile (the Egyptian Sudan), where the Egyptian government was struggling to open up the country to trade, and to destroy the traffic in slaves. In 1881, a native chieftain posing as a Mahdi (an inspired messenger from God) started a crusade against Egyptian rule in the Sudan. Forty thousand fanatics rallied to his support, and all the Sudan except a few strongholds fell into his hands. Gladstone persuaded Egypt to abandon the region, and General Charles George Gordon was sent up the Nile to withdraw her forces.

608. Loss
of the
Sudan

Gordon, however, was soon penned up in Khartum, and owing to dissensions in the British Cabinet it was five months before a relief expedition was organized. In five months more the expedition fought its way sixteen hundred miles up the Nile, only to find that two days before its arrival Khartum had been captured, its garrison massacred, and General Gordon himself killed (January 26, 1885). The region south of the Wady Halfa was left in the hands of the Mahdists, but the Egyptian government announced that its withdrawal was only temporary.

In 1870 a league was formed to aid in securing home rule for Ireland — that is, the creation of a separate Parliament in Dublin, with authority over local matters. The distress of Irish farmers was daily increasing because of a rapid fall in prices, due partly to the flood of American food stuffs. A new weapon, "boycotting," was devised, which consisted in refusing to do business, or have any social relations, with any obnoxious landlord or agent. Evictions were many, and led to criminal and inhuman retaliations. Lord Frederick Cavendish, a newly appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, the permanent Under-Secretary for Ireland, were both murdered in Dublin in 1882; as a result of these outrages, a galling Crimes Act was passed by the British Parliament.

609. De-
mand for
Home Rule
in Ireland

Mr. Michael Davitt induced the farmers to refuse to pay rents until they should be reduced in proportion to the fall in prices. In Parliament Charles Stuart Parnell devised a scheme of "obstruction" intended to prevent any and all legislation until Ireland's wrongs should be righted. By voting always with the Opposition, the Home Rulers were able to force Gladstone from power in 1885, and to do the same to his successor, the Conservative Salisbury, within another seven months. With Mr. Gladstone's return to power as a Home Ruler (in February, 1886), begins another period in the history of Ireland.

During this period the British government, not yet in full touch with the people, nearly blundered into war with the United States. It quite blundered into another Afghan war, which proved worse than useless. At the Congress of Berlin it again took up the costly and useless burden of protecting "the unspeakable Turk." At Berlin, said Lord Salisbury in 1896, England "backed the wrong horse." In Egypt she interfered with better excuse, and with great advantage to both countries. In South Africa, on the contrary, she made a dual blunder — in government and in diplomacy; for she failed to adapt her government to existing conditions, and failed to enforce her treaty rights.

At home, many reforms were wrought. The dreams of the chartists were in part realized by the admission of the masses to representation — which perhaps explains the repeated alternation of power between the two parties, for the political opinions of the masses are proverbially unstable. Ireland, too, won the redress of her religious grievance, and some improvements in the land question. But new causes provoked fresh unrest, so that "Parnellism and Crime" (as its enemies phrased it) destroyed the value of Gladstone's remedial legislation, and drove him into the Home Rule camp.

TOPICS

(1) Compare the length of tenure of parties during this period with that of parties in the previous century. (2) Show how each of the reforms in § 600 tended to make the government more democratic. (3) Compare these reforms with the demands made by the Chartists (§ 375). (4) What classes besides the cotton workers suffered as a result of the American Civil War? (5) Why was it difficult to secure the disestablishment of the Irish Church? (6) Was it just to confiscate the endowments of the Irish Church? (7) Compare the school boards under the Forster Act of 1870 with those in your own state. (8) Cite the various instances that we have found where Great Britain balked Russia's ambitious schemes. (9) What causes stimulated the exportation of food stuffs from America during this period?

Suggestive topics

(10) Some anecdotes of Disraeli in the House of Commons. (11) Gladstone's attitude towards the American Civil War. (12) The cruise of the *Alabama*. (13) The defense of Plevna by the Turks in 1877. (14) The reign of Ismail, khedive of Egypt, 1863-1879. (15) The character and career of "Chinese Gordon." (16) Cartoons on Disraeli in *Punch*. (17) Construction of the Suez Canal. (18) Explorations of the Nile. (19) Parnell as a leader and statesman.

Search topics

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LIST OF PRIME MINISTERS SINCE THE REFORM BILL OF 1832

Ministers	Date of Appointment	Ministers	Date of Appointment
Earl Grey	Nov., 1830	Earl of Derby	July, 1866
Viscount Melbourne	July, 1834	Benjamin Disraeli . .	Feb., 1868
Sir Robert Peel . .	Dec., 1834	W. E. Gladstone . .	Dec., 1868
Viscount Melbourne	April, 1835	Benjamin Disraeli . .	Feb., 1874
Sir Robert Peel . .	August, 1841	W. E. Gladstone . .	April, 1880
Lord John Russell .	July, 1846	Marquis of Salisbury	June, 1885
Earl of Derby	Feb., 1852	W. E. Gladstone . .	Feb., 1886
Earl of Aberdeen .	Dec., 1852	Marquis of Salisbury	August, 1886
Viscount Palmerston	Feb., 1855	W. E. Gladstone . .	August, 1892
Earl of Derby	Feb., 1858	Earl of Rosebery . .	March, 1894
Viscount Palmerston	June, 1859	Marquis of Salisbury	June, . 1895
Earl Russell	Oct., 1865	Arthur J. Balfour .	July, 1902

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE UNITED KINGDOM SINCE 1886

MR. GLADSTONE's conversion to Home Rule in 1886 caused a division of the Liberal party into two wings: one retained the name "Liberal" ^{Bill. Gladstone's first} and accepted the ^{Home Rule} policy of Home ^{Bill (1886)} Rule; the other, led by Joseph Chamberlain, clung to the legislative union of Ireland and Great Britain, and was therefore known as the Liberal-Unionist party.

The problem before Gladstone was complicated, and his Home Rule Bill of 1886, framed under most difficult conditions, satisfied nobody. Its financial and political clauses provoked such

severe criticism that the

ROBERT CECIL, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

bill was rejected with the aid of ninety-three Liberal Unionist votes, and Lord Salisbury returned to power (August, 1886). This same year a bill was passed, granting to the crofters, or small tenants, in six Highland counties of Scotland similar rights of fixed tenure, fair rents, and compensation for im-

provements that had been granted to Ireland in 1870. In the latter country the Conservatives tried still more palliative measures in the Ashbourne Act, which granted further government aid for the purchase of farms, the drainage of fens, and the extension of roads and railroads ; but they were at the same time compelled by continued local outrages and boycotting to pass thoroughgoing Crimes Acts.

The most notable measure of Salisbury's second administration was the Local Government Act of 1888, which completed

612. Salis-
bury's re-
forms in
local gov-
ernment
(1888)

the transformation of England into a democracy. Up to this time the administration of counties had been in the hands of lord-lieutenants, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other appointive officers ; this act provided for each of the sixty administrative counties a "county council" of aldermen and councilors elected by the people. These councils have complete control over local government, including local rating and assessment, bridges, prisons, elections, care of roads, etc. London and its more important suburbs were created into a special county of this type, and the government of the metropolis — which, as the aggregate of many town and parish governments, had long been very complex — was much simplified. In 1889, practically the same system was applied in Scotland, and in 1898 it was extended to Ireland.

At the election of 1892 the Liberal party won support by pledging itself to the so-called Newcastle programme of re-

613. Defeat
of Home
Rule (1893)

forms. These included, besides Home Rule for Ireland, (1) the disestablishment of the church in Wales ; (2) measures defending the interests of the laboring classes ; (3) the abolition of plural voting ; and (4) universal manhood suffrage. On this platform Gladstone returned to power with a majority of forty votes. A new Home Rule Bill was carried through the House of Commons, but was rejected by a vote of 419 to 41 in the House of Lords. Two years before this, Parnell had become involved in a public scandal and criminal

prosecution. Gladstone and about forty of his Irish allies demanded that he should resign the leadership of the Irish Home Rulers; the others refused to abandon their old comrade in arms. Although Parnell died very soon, the quarrel continued for some years, and the cause of Home Rule was thus made hopeless through the action of its friends.

In the famous Bering Sea controversy of 1892–1893, the United States claimed jurisdiction over a partly inclosed sea fifteen hundred miles long by seven hundred miles wide, because it wished to protect from extermination the valuable herds of seals which frequent those waters, but breed and feed wholly on the shores of Alaska and of the Pribilof Islands. The claim was technically invalid, for international law gives a state authority over the open sea only for a distance of three miles from the coast. Consequently, when the United States arrested and punished British subjects engaged in sealing outside that limit, great friction resulted. The arbitrators to whom the matter was referred (1893) denied the right of the United States to control these waters; but on their recommendation Great Britain agreed to restrict the operations of her subjects in Bering Sea for the benefit of the sealing industry as a whole.

In 1895 more friction resulted over Great Britain's quarrel with Venezuela in regard to the boundary of British Guiana. The issue involved the possession of an important river valley, and the control of the mouth of the Orinoco; and the quarrel — a quarter of a century old — was intensified by the recent discoveries of gold in the disputed territory, and by the repeated extension of the British claim. Great Britain refused to submit the matter to arbitration, and prepared to seize the disputed territory; but when President Cleveland of the United States advised Congress to determine the true boundary and to "resist the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands" which belonged to Venezuela "by

614. The
Bering
Sea contro-
versy

615. The
Venezuela
contro-
versy(1895)

President
Cleveland's
Message,
1895

every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests," she reconsidered her decision. The arbitrators gave to Great Britain most of the gold fields, but left Venezuela in control of the mouth of the Orinoco.

The irritation over these incidents was short-lived; and the friendly attitude of Great Britain toward the United States during her war with Spain (1898) and during the subsequent complications in the far East, brought the two English-speaking nations more closely into sympathy than at any previous period of their history.

In 1896, France commissioned Major Marchand with a few followers to penetrate into the upper Nile valley by way of

616. France and the Sudan the Kongo State, and take possession of the Sudan, the assumption being that its abandonment by Egypt left it open to colonization. At the same time General Kitchener was advancing up the Nile with a large force to reconquer the Sudan for the Egyptian government. For two years he forced his way along the Nile and its bordering desert, building a railroad in his rear as he went, to maintain his connection with Cairo. At Omdurman (opposite Khartum) the Khalifa, who had succeeded the Mahdi, made a desperate stand; but his forces were utterly routed.

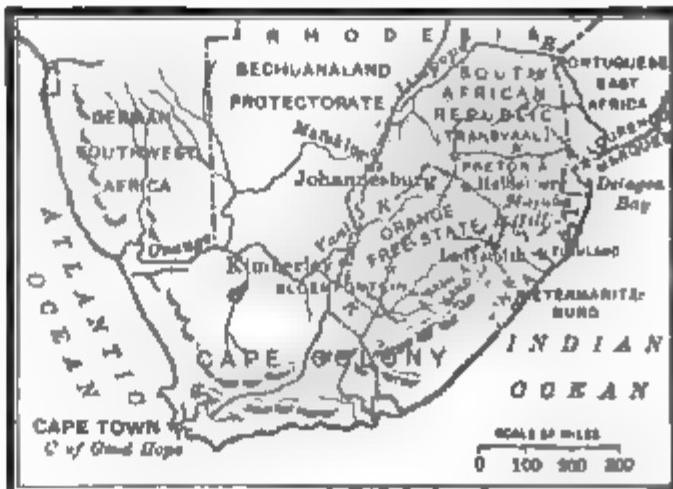
Kitchener entered Khartum at the very time when General Marchand arrived at Fashoda, four hundred miles farther south on the Nile. The incident led to an agreement between France and Great Britain, by which the unoccupied region west of the watershed of the Nile was conceded to lie in the French sphere of influence, and France gave up all claims on the Nile valley (1899). In the same year, the Khalifa was killed and the entire Egyptian Sudan was pacified.

After the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold fields (1885)

617. Trouble in the Transvaal (1885-1895) the population of the Transvaal rapidly increased until the aliens outnumbered the original settlers six to one. The Boers virtually refused citizenship to the new-

comers, and burdened their industries with heavy taxes and with state monopolies of mining supplies. After vainly demanding new naturalization laws in order to gain reforms by the ballot, the aliens (called Uitlanders) in 1895 determined to obtain relief by force. They secreted a supply of arms in the mines at Johannesburg, the center of the mining district, and enlisted the aid of Cecil Rhodes, premier of Cape Colony and president of the South Africa Company, who agreed to send to them fifteen hundred of the company's mounted police under Captain Jameson. It had long been Mr. Rhodes's ambition to unite all South Africa into a single federated state, and he hoped that the revolt would bring the Transvaal again under British control. Jameson, in defiance of orders, invaded the Transvaal too early; his entire force was captured; Rhodes's complicity was betrayed; the British government disavowed the action of its subjects; and the Uitlanders were in worse case than before.

In March, 1899, more than twenty thousand Uitlanders petitioned the British government to secure for them a redress of grievances, and the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, entered into correspondence with President Kruger of the Transvaal. During the prolonged and fruitless negotiations that followed, both governments made active preparation for war, the Boers believing that Great Britain was determined to seize the Transvaal, and the British alleging that the Boers were conspiring to stir up revolt among



THE BOER REPUBLICS (1899).

612. Outbreak of the Boer war

the Dutch in Cape Colony. October 9, 1899, President Kruger issued an ultimatum giving Great Britain forty-eight hours in which to cease her warlike preparations and agree to arbitrate all matters in dispute. Chamberlain replied that these

Dispatch of Oct. 10, 1899 terms "are such as Her Majesty's Government deem it impossible to discuss," and the Transvaal armies immediately invaded Natal. The Orange Free State, which had a defensive and offensive alliance with the Transvaal, at once proclaimed war upon Great Britain.

The allies hoped by transferring the war to British soil to secure the aid of the Dutch in Cape Colony and Natal. One

619. The Boer war (1899-1900) body of troops pushed into Natal, a second hurried westward and laid siege to Kimberley and Mafeking. Both these places held out until relief expeditions arrived; and although General Buller wholly failed to expel the Dutch from Natal, General White stoutly defended the important center of Ladysmith. Not only did the Dutch in Cape Colony fail to revolt, as the Boers had expected, but Great Britain's most distant colonies, Canada and Australia, proved their loyalty by sending large bodies of troops to serve in South Africa. Lord Roberts, who soon succeeded Buller as commander in chief, at once assumed the offensive in the center, and thus forced the Boers to draw in their widely separated armies. First the Orange Free State and then the Transvaal was overrun, each being declared annexed to the British dominions as soon as its capital was taken (May, October, 1900). President Kruger sought safety in Portuguese East Africa, and became an exile in European countries, while scattered bands of Boers maintained a guerilla warfare in the northeast against General Kitchener, now in command of the British forces. In May, 1902, the last belligerents submitted to the British, who treated their defeated enemies with generous consideration.

Russia has long coveted an outlet for the commercial products of western Asia through Persia to the Indian Ocean.

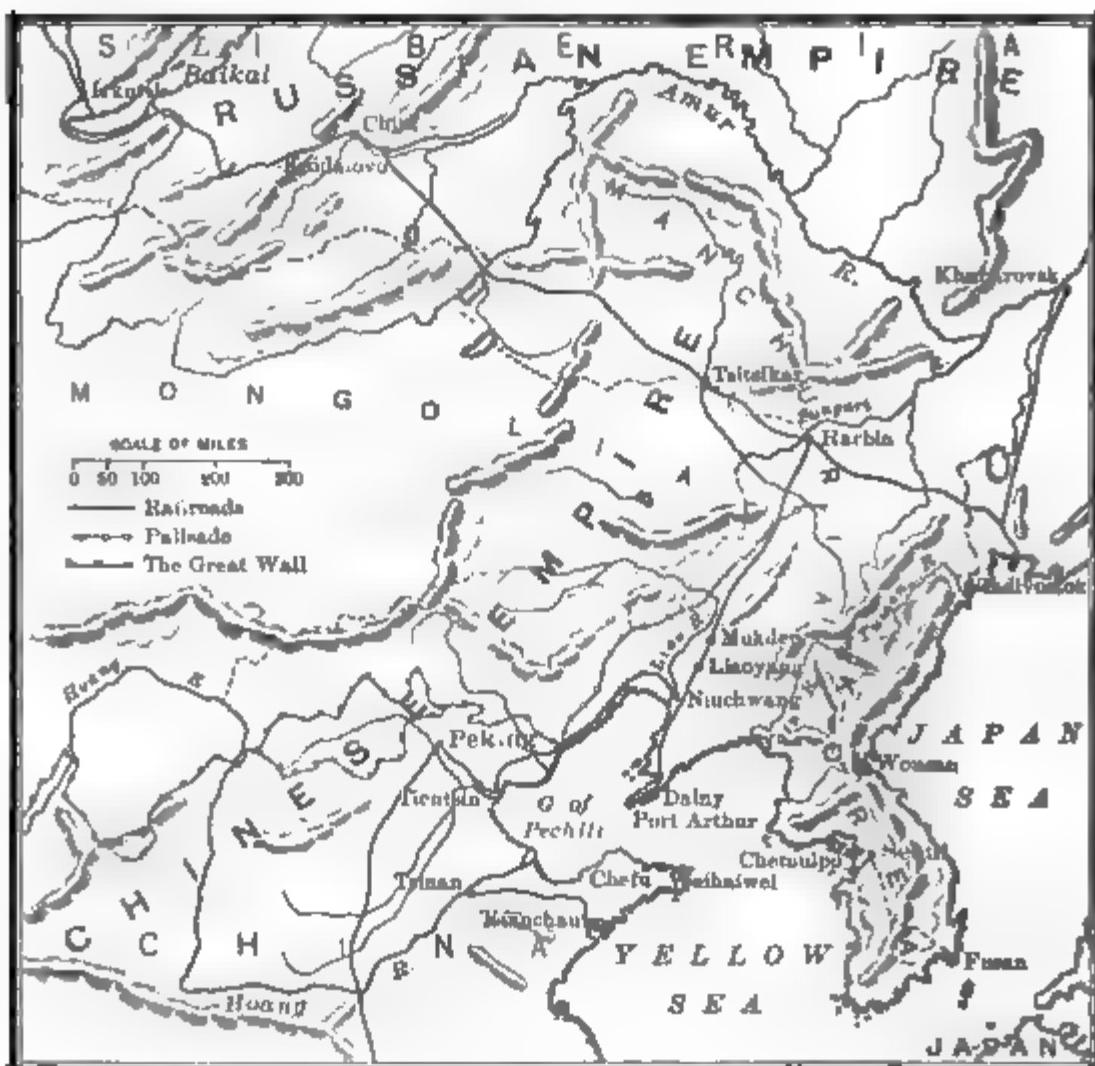
Great Britain, on the other hand, has always thought it as important to protect Persia as to protect Turkey from Russian influence; for just as a Russian fleet acting from Constantinople might cut off Great Britain from the Suez Canal, so a similar fleet issuing from the Persian Gulf might occupy the mouth of the Red Sea with the same result. For a long time, British influence was supreme in Persia; but during the Boer War of 1899–1902, Russia obtained from the shah of Persia a concession for a railway from the Caspian region to the Persian Gulf. She also secured certain preferential trade rights, but in 1903 Great Britain negotiated a treaty with the shah, giving to British merchandise equal terms with Russian goods.

In like manner an Eastern problem arose when Russia decided to cross Siberia with a railway, by means of which its gold and lesser minerals, its grain, lumber, and furs might be transported eastward and westward to markets. The port of Vladivostok formed the natural eastern terminus of the road, but the direct route to that port lay across Manchuria, a province of the Chinese Empire. This district offered a tempting prize to Russia, since the Siberian railway — could it swing south after passing Lake Baikal, to the shores of the Gulf of Pechili — would pour Siberian products directly into the streams of commerce that flow through the Pacific. But the Great Powers objected to concessions for a railway through Manchuria, which might lead to the absorption of that province, and ultimately to the domination of Peking by Russia.

This influence was greatly dreaded by the other powers, because Russia claims exclusive trade rights within the territory which she controls. Great Britain — because she subsists not by production but by manufacturing and trafficking in the products of other nations — champions the policy of the “open door” in the East; that is, she

insists that the people of all nations shall have equal facilities for commerce.¹

Therefore, when in 1896 Russia secured a concession for a



THE FAR EAST.

branch of the Siberian railway through Manchuria to the Gulf of Pechili, and when in 1898 it was announced that she had

¹ For example, in southern China, Great Britain early secured treaties which threw open the entire Yangtze basin to the trade of all nations, and which guaranteed that exclusive control of that region should never be conceded to any one power. Therefore within that district, British, French, German, Russian, and American capitalists and traders compete on equal terms for banking privileges, mining rights, railroad and canal concessions, and for the sale of their various products.

secured a lease of Port Arthur for ninety-nine years and was to convert this port at once into an impregnable military station with arsenals, dockyards, and naval and military stores,—all the powers interested in the fate of China were greatly disturbed. Great Britain hastened to lease from China the port of Weihaiwei “for so long a period as Russia shall remain in possession of Port Arthur”; and at once began to



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PORT OF WEIHAIWEI, CHINA.

convert it into a fortress and coaling station. But this port was soon found to be not worth fortifying, because Germany had secured a lease of the rest of the Shantung peninsula, thus isolating Weihaiwei and rendering it liable to attack by land

In 1900 a bloody outbreak against foreigners was started in northern China by bodies of natives associated together purporting to seek athletic training, and therefore nicknamed “Boxers.” Throughout the rural districts, Christian missionaries and their converts were massacred, the capital fell under the control of the raiders, the German min-

623. Russia's opportunity in Manchuria

ister was slain, and the other foreign ministers and residents were besieged in the British legation, where they had taken refuge. As Russia was determined to interfere for the restoration of order, the other Great Powers, with Japan and the United States, had no choice but to coöperate with her. Peking was captured by the allied troops; the Chinese government, which apparently had connived at the Boxer movement, was forced to make reparation for the outrages upon foreigners; and order was restored. Meanwhile, under the pretext of guarding the Manchurian branch of the Siberian railway, Russia filled Manchuria with troops, and refused to withdraw them "until it should be safe to do so." Great Britain, although suspicious and resentful, was unwilling to go to war on this ground alone; but she took pains to cultivate the friendship of Japan, Russia's bitterest enemy in the Orient. The result was a treaty of defensive alliance between Great Britain and Japan (February, 1902), to become operative if either country should be attacked by more than one power. Owing to a similar convention between Russia and France, Great Britain could take no part in the contest for Manchuria which broke out between Japan and Russia in 1904.

It is possible for us only to touch upon the brilliant work of Englishmen in literature, in science, and in art during the

624. Victorian literature, etc. reign of Victoria. Macaulay by his vivid imagination made history as fascinating as a novel; Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot, by their keen and accurate portraiture of human nature, made the novel as true and as real as history. Tennyson and Browning head a long list of poets, of matchless power and beauty. Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold by their critical essays and lectures gave new earnestness and a new uplift to English thought on social, religious, and æsthetic subjects. In science Darwin and Herbert Spencer gave to the world a wonderfully profound and complete theory of the history of the physical universe in their doctrine of Evolution;

Huxley and Tyndall illuminated many fields of science by their subtly devised experiments and their clear exposition, and Lord Kelvin added greatly to our knowledge of the ether phenomena — light, heat, electricity, and magnetism. In the field of art, Burne-Jones and Watts stand supreme, although Leighton, Millais, Tadema, and Whistler have all done brilliant work.

On January 22, 1901, occurred the death of Queen Victoria, after a reign of sixty-four years, the longest in English history.



KING EDWARD VII. IN 1901.

and good government. Her son, Edward VII., who succeeded her, entered upon his duties with a maturity of character and an experience in public affairs that augured well for his reign.

Forster's Education Act of 1870 (§ 603) provided chiefly for the creation of a primary school system, but it left the field of secondary education to the endowed schools, church schools, and private pay-schools. In 1902 the Wynd-

tory. Noble, up-right, wise, and patriotic in her public functions, a devoted wife and mother, Queen Victoria commanded as deep and true regard, if not as enthusiastic admiration, as her great predecessor Queen Elizabeth. With less authority in the government, she exerted a constant influence over her ministers in the direction of peaceful

625. Accession of Edward VII. (1901)

626. Education Act (1902)

ham Education Act was passed, by which the entire national school system was remodeled, government aid was extended to secondary schools, and the administration of schools in Scotland and England was unified. The act was so framed as to bolster up the Church of England schools by money grants and by increased privileges, and therefore was bitterly attacked by dissenters who objected to the expenditure of public money in aid of sectarian instruction.

In 1903 was passed what it was hoped would be the final measure of relief for Ireland, a Land Act framed after long

627. Irish Land Bill (1903) and friendly consultation between representative landlords and tenants. The bill—which merely extended the principle of the Gladstone Land Act of 1870 (§ 602) and of several later land-purchase measures—aimed (1) by money loans to make the government instead of individuals the landlord until such time as the Irish tenant could gradually pay for his farm; (2) to arrange in the interim for an equitable rent-scale, taking account of possible changes in land values and prices of products; (3) to pay the landlords even generously for their extinguished titles, thus putting the cost of righting past wrongs upon the whole British people.

During the last years of the nineteenth century, Great Britain had to strain every nerve to defend her vast colonial

628. Summary and commercial interests. In South Africa, stationed on the southern trade route, the hostile Boers were subdued at a frightful cost of blood and treasure; in Egypt, guardian of the northern route, the Sudan was reconquered and the control of the whole Nile valley assured. In Persia and in Afghanistan, whence Russia threatens India, Great Britain has barely held her own. In the far East, the principal field for commercial enterprise during the twentieth century, the contest for supremacy is still unsettled. Russia's advantage in her military possession of Manchuria and her influence in northern

China has been practically destroyed as a result of her war with Japan; Great Britain has a far stronger advantage in the fact that the interests of all other countries favor her demand for an "open door" to trade. At home, the happy solution of the land question promises to end the long strife with Ireland.

TOPICS

- (1) Show why a separate Parliament for Ireland was less feasible in 1886 than before 1800. (2) Can you see any plausible arguments in favor of "plural voting"? (3) On what facts could the United States base its claim that the seals in Bering Sea were the property of the United States? (4) How could a war of Great Britain against Venezuela endanger the interests of the United States? (5) Did the "right of self-defense" apply to both sides of the Transvaal question? (6) Do you think Great Britain should have yielded to President Kruger's ultimatum? (7) Trace on a map the route of a possible "Cape to Cairo" railway. (8) Why did not General Kitchener use the Nile for carrying his army to the Sudan? (9) What especial interest has the United States in Russia's eastern policy?

- (10) The Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1892; their differences, and their defects. (11) A character sketch of Gladstone. (12) The Alaska seal fisheries; their peculiar conditions, and their commercial importance. (13) An account of Jameson's raid. (14) The diamond fields and gold mines of South Africa. (15) The irrigation system installed by English engineers in Egypt. (16) Japan and Russia in Korea. (17) Siege of the Europeans in Peking, 1900. (18) The present Welsh national movement. (19) Objections to the Wyndham education act.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ENGLAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION

AFTER tracing the growth of the English people through fifteen centuries of progress, the student has still to consider the relation of all this to the greater civilization of which it forms a part. What institutions in England are unique? What institutions have furnished types on which other nations have modeled their own governments? What in her legal systems, her social customs, her temper and spirit, has proved of value to the world? What, in other words, has been her contribution to the world's civilization?

The representative system, England's first and foremost gift to the world, has been a practicable method of government "of the people by the people." Democracy in some form or other seems to be as old as the Aryan race; but John Fiske has pointed out that the Roman Empire was doomed to fall apart because the Romans "had no notion of such a thing as political power delegated by the people to representatives who were to wield it away from home and out of sight of their constituents." Such a system of delegated powers of government was first thoroughly worked out in the English village, the English hundred, and the English shire; and it constitutes to-day the chief strength of an empire more vast than Rome ever ruled.

With the representative system is bound up the principle of popular liberty. From the beginning to the end of English history, the student is confronted by the word "freeman." During the Middle Ages, while France was building up a most powerful tyranny, while Germany

629. Final task of the student

630. Representative government
Fiske, Beginnings of New England, 16

631. Personal liberty

was the prey of overbearing princes, while Italy was cheated with the shadow but not the substance of democracy, the English people clung to their birthright of freedom.

Whenever their liberties seemed to be in danger, some Magna Charta, some Petition of Right, some Instrument of Government, some Bill of Rights, reasserted their fundamental right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The right to be free from arbitrary arrest, the right of private property, the right of free speech, and especially of freely criticising the acts of the government, the right of peaceable assembly, the right of prompt and fair trial, freedom from military rule, equality before the law,—all these and many more of our present commonplaces were first definitely won by the English people.

It was England, too, that during the feudal period successfully solved the problem of giving to each of the "estates"

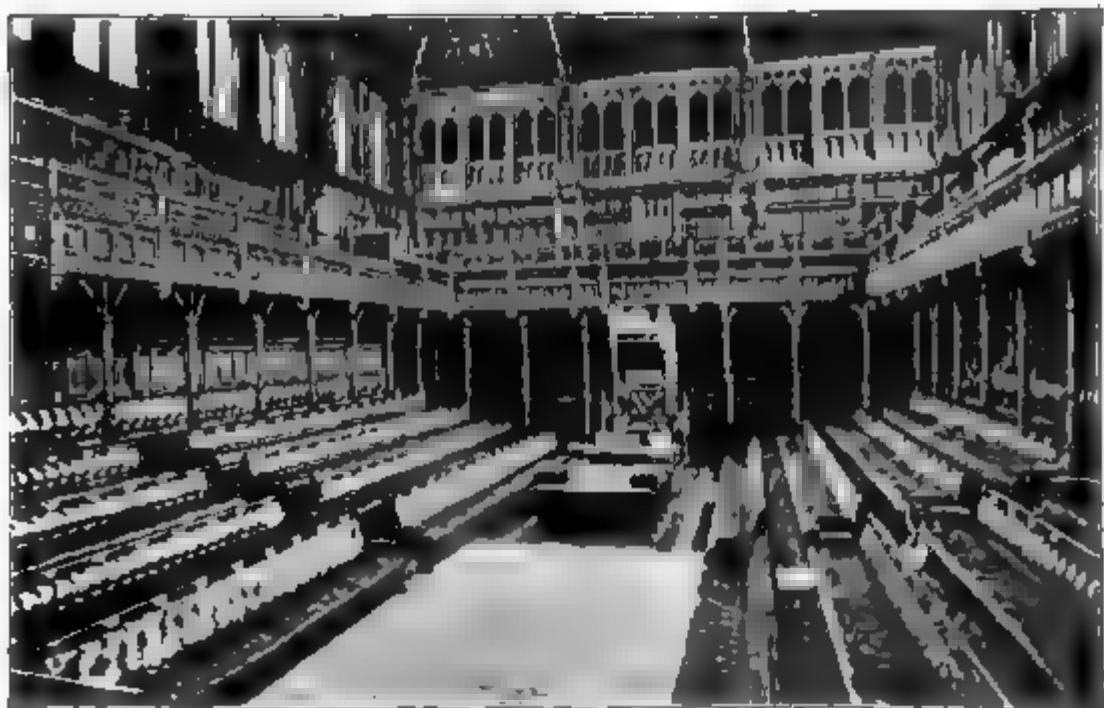
632. The bicameral legislature within the body politic (king, lords temporal, lords spiritual, commons) only its due share in representation.

The final result was the development of the modern bicameral legislature, a device which has been copied by practically every European state except Russia and Turkey. This device has proved especially valuable in federated states, like the present German Empire, where the upper house guards the interests of the political bodies that make up the federation, and the lower acts for the empire as a unit. It is likewise applicable to states (like Italy, France, and Prussia) which wish to give extra weight in the government to the wealthy, the intelligent, and the politically experienced classes. In a hundred different governments, from Japan on the east to the United States on the west, it has been adopted as the best means for checking hasty legislation.

The British House of Lords is composed of: (1) peers of Eng-

633. House of Lords land by new creation or by hereditary right; (2) representative peers of Scotland, sitting for the term of

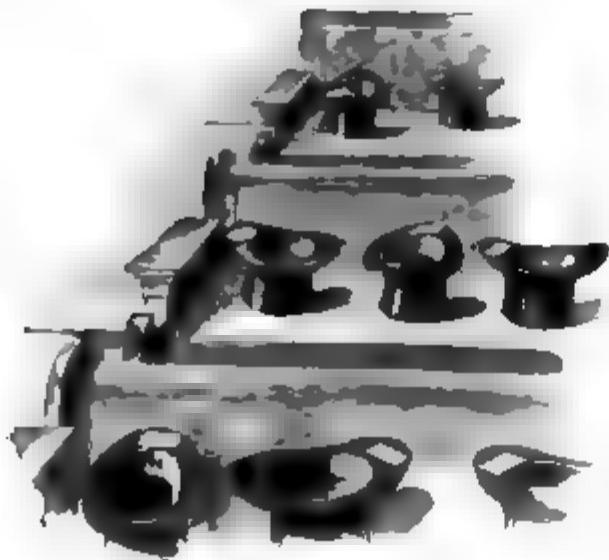
Parliament; (3) representative peers of Ireland, sitting for life; (4) lords spiritual, that is, archbishops and certain bishops of the Church of England. In 1900 it numbered five hundred and ninety one members, an increase of one hundred and ninety since the year 1830. Its powers are restricted by the fact that it may not originate or amend a money bill, and by the fact that it must ratify any bill on which the House of Commons insists (§ 564). Three members constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The presiding officer is the Lord High Chancellor of the realm.



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1905.

The House of Commons contains six hundred and seventy representatives of parliamentary boroughs and counties in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The county ^{634. House} members, or knights of the shire, in theory represent ^{of Commons} the landholding interest, while the borough members represent trade and other civic interests. They are elected in a general election and hold office for seven years unless Parliament is previously dissolved. It is technically impossible for

a member to resign his seat; but as appointment to a salaried office involves loss of membership in the house, the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds—a sinecure office formerly con-



METHOD OF RESERVING SEATS IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

cerned with the care of the crown forests on the Chiltern Hills—is now used as a loophole for persons wishing to vacate their seats. Single vacancies are at once filled by "by-elections." The deliberations of the house are guided by the speaker, who is elected by agreement between the political parties, and generally is

reelected from time to time regardless of political changes in successive elections.

Since the Act of Settlement (1701) the monarch holds his crown by right of hereditary succession, on the sole condition

**635. Mon-
arch and
council** that he must be a Protestant. His formerly vague sovereign rights are now limited by the Bill of Rights (1689), but in theory he still exercises certain prerogatives: for example, he may raise individuals to the peerage; may summon, dissolve, and prorogue Parliament; gives or withholds his consent to acts of Parliament; appoints to offices in church and state; may pardon condemned criminals; may make peace and war. In actual practice the veto power is never exercised (since 1707), and all the other powers above mentioned are exercised under the advice of a committee of the privy council called the Cabinet. The Privy Council is nominally a permanent body of advisers to the crown; actually it is that part of the councilors who at the moment are ministers; and it thus constitutes the legal machinery for carrying into effect deci-

sions of the ministry — all royal orders, proclamations, etc., being issued "by the king in council." It retains some ancient judicial and administrative powers; and a few commissions which have charge of executive business — the Board of Trade (1786), the Committee on Education (1839), the Local Government Board (1871) — are technically sub-committees of the privy council.

The Cabinet system — the fruit of England's greatest Revolution of 1689 — is a means by which the administrative and executive departments may work harmoniously. Most constitutional states in Europe now have cabinets practically modeled on that of Great Britain. In the United States, although the name is in use, the essential features of the British system are lacking — the President's Cabinet does not of necessity express the will of the lower house, and it does not frame the most important legislative measures; but it should be noted that at the time when the United States became independent, the Cabinet system proper had temporarily broken down in Great Britain. At present the British Cabinet (or the Ministry, or the Government, as it is variously called) is the instrument for embodying the will of the nation in legislative bills, and carrying it out in practice.

636. The Cabinet system

The history of a typical Cabinet is substantially as follows: After an election has determined the political make-up of a new House of Commons, the sovereign sends for the leader of that party which has the majority of the members and requests him to form a ministry. This prime minister, or premier, selects from members of his party a group of persons (mostly members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons) willing to work in harmony with him, and determines what executive office each person can most satisfactorily fill. Having thus prepared a list containing from sixteen to twenty salaried offices (including the secretaryships for Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Colonial Affairs, War, India, and

Ireland, together with the lordships of the Admiralty and the Treasury, the chancellorship of the Exchequer, and the presidencies of various boards), he presents his list of nominees to the sovereign, who makes the official appointments.

The Cabinet thus formed is merely a convenient practical device for securing united action, and not a creature of the **638. Cabinet** law. It meets at the call of the prime minister to formulate bills late bills of state policy on the great questions up for action in Parliament, but no formal record of its meetings is kept. Certain days are set apart by Parliament for the consideration of Cabinet measures (government bills). Each bill passes through three "readings"—one to introduce it to the house, one to start debate, the third to show its final form after debate and possible amendment. If a government bill fails to pass, the ministry resigns—the theory being that those who have framed it no longer express the will of the dominant party, and therefore of the nation. The ministers, however, may request the sovereign to dissolve Parliament, if they are convinced that a fresh election will give them a majority in favor of the bill.

It is only natural that more features of English civilization should reappear in the United States than in any other state, **639. Local government** except, perhaps, Canada and Australia. The system of town, city, and county government in New England, of county and parish government in Virginia, are the gifts of England to the new world; the legal system prevailing through the United States (except Louisiana) is based upon English common law; the constitutions of most of the original states go back to charters granted by English monarchs; and all these are pervaded by the spirit of those cornerstones of the British Constitution—Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights.

640. Government of dependencies The free government which England has won for herself, she has given to her colonial children wherever it is practicable. Professor J. R. Seeley has pointed out

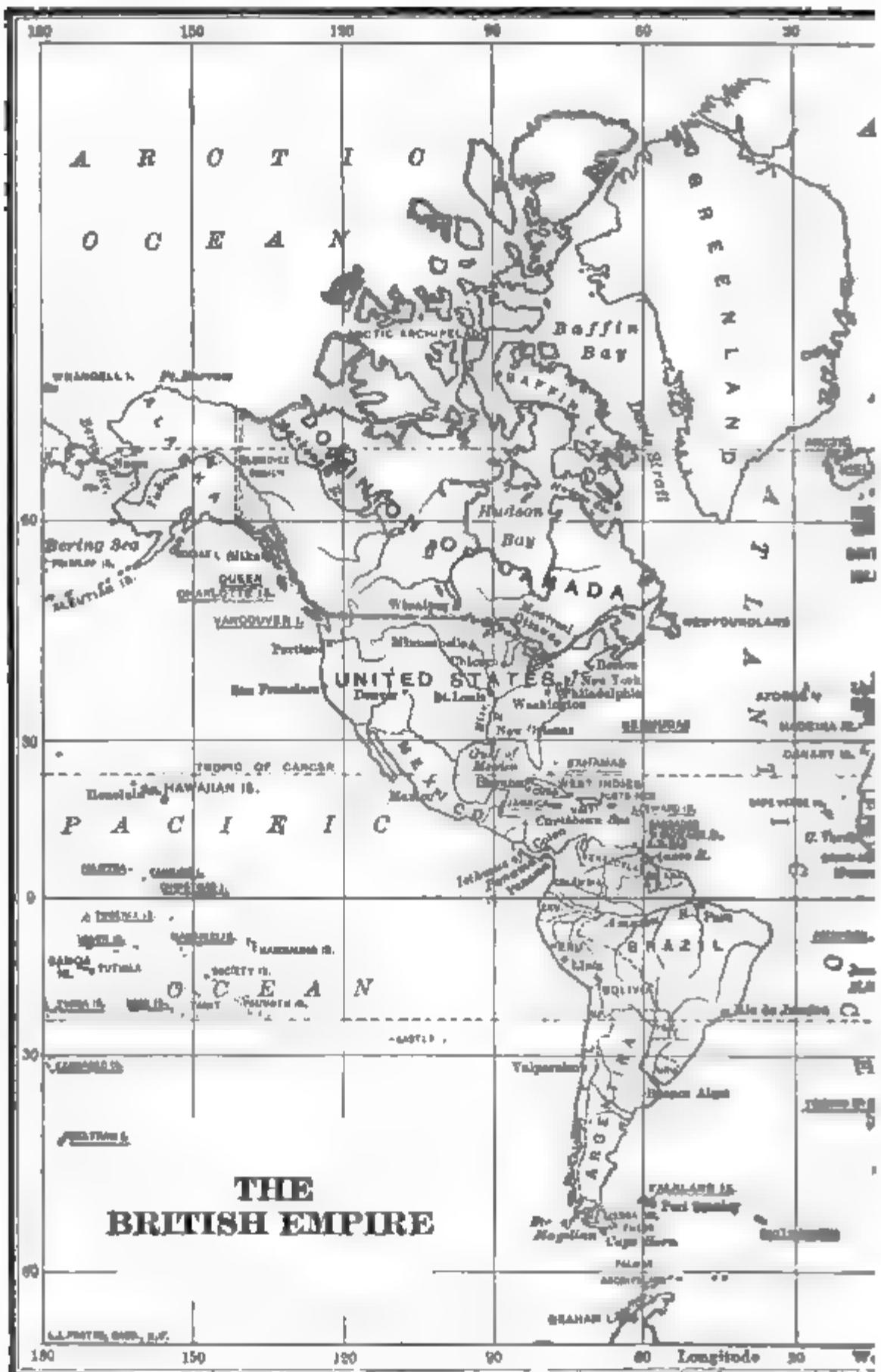
that in the eighteenth century all maritime states conceived of their colonies as subject dependencies; but the revolt of the American colonies taught England a lesson. Canada, Australia, Cape Colony, and most of the other large dependencies possess representative institutions as complete as those in England, and their liberty is limited only by the frequently exercised veto power of the crown. Even the smaller, or crown colonies are given as full right of self-government as local conditions will allow.

India, of course, is unique. Its oriental peoples can not yet be left to govern themselves like Europeans, but even in India native rule under ancient customs is maintained as far as practicable, and the largest possible measure of freedom is granted to the individual. Great Britain's system of world-empire—her successful rule over colonies ranging from India with its 280,000,000 of subjects to Fanning Island with its population of 30—sets a standard for all other colonizing powers, and challenges the admiration of the world.

To an imperial system like Great Britain's, purity in government and trained skill in administration are indispensable. We accordingly find that she compels all members of the Commons who accept office from the crown to offer themselves to their constituents for reëlection; she disqualifies election officers, sheriffs, and government contractors from sitting in Parliament, and she also makes bribery in elections a temporary or permanent disqualification. Her civil service has been since 1871 upon a competitive basis, the offices carefully graded, and promotion chiefly by merit. Her diplomatic service is similarly organized, the higher officials being uniformly experienced men, well paid, and secure in their tenure. In the consular service, all candidates are tested by competitive examination; those intended for service in the Ottoman dominions undergo a two-years' training in oriental languages at government expense before taking

Seeley,
The Expansion of England, 79, 344

641. Civil
and diplo-
matic
service





up their residence abroad, and those destined for the far East are trained as secretaries to the diplomats in the districts to which they will later be assigned.

Great Britain's system of world-empire is closely connected with her supremacy on the sea, both military and commercial.

642. Eng-land's navy It was as hardy mariners that the Angles, Saxons, and Danes won their foothold in Britain. By the first of a long series of navigation acts, which forbade any one to "ship any merchandise . . . but only in ships of the king's **V. Rich. II.**, liegance," Richard II. (1382) began to build up Eng-
st. 1. c. 3 land's carrying trade. The Elizabethan seamen drove Spain from the field, the fleets of the Stuarts crippled Holland, those of the early Hanoverians held France in check, and finally Napoleon's folly gave Great Britain an excuse for crushing out all possible rivals, and enabled her to monopolize for a time the maritime commerce of the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century the foreign trade of the United Kingdom amounted to nearly \$4,000,000,000 a year, or fifty per cent more than that of her nearest rival, Germany.

To defend this commerce, she has built up the greatest navy in the world. She maintains a naval fighting force of 100,000 men, and an always increasing navy of more than 350 effective war vessels. Besides these defenses, she has a contract with the Cunard Steamship Company which permits her in return for an annual subsidy to convert its "ocean greyhounds" into armed cruisers in time of war. On the other hand, she finds it difficult with her relatively small population to keep the ranks of her army filled, and should a strong hostile force break through her cordon of warships and effect a landing on British soil, she would possess no adequate means of defense.

Great Britain stands before the world as a pioneer in **643. Eng-land's free-trade policy** the experiment of absolute free trade. *The Wealth of Nations*, published by Adam Smith in 1776, dealt the first effective blow to the time-honored political economy



BRITISH CRUISER.

of government interference with trade; but owing to the disturbances of the revolutionary period, it got little hearing until the period of reform. The progress of Great Britain immediately after the entire abolition of protective duties (1860) was marvelous.

As the century advanced, however, the manufacturers of the United States, protected from competition at home by a protective tariff, began to undersell British manufacturers in their own markets, while the cheapness of American food stuffs threatened to ruin British farmers. In 1903, Joseph Chamberlain (himself a manufacturer) began a campaign to restore the protective system in the form of "a preferential tariff for British imports, to be granted simultaneously with the imposition of a tax by the United Kingdom on food supplies imported from countries other than the colonies,—the object of this mutual arrangement being to advance the prosperity of the colonies by bringing new corn-growing districts in them

into cultivation, and at the same time making them better customers for British manufactures." Thus the tariff became again a living issue in British politics.

Finally, Great Britain presents to the world an example of a constitutional state without a tangible constitution; and

644. England's unwritten constitution of a complete democracy under monarchical and aristocratic forms. This constitution is to be sought (1) in certain great documents like Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights; (2) in innumerable statutes of Parliament which deal with general and permanent features of the nation's life; (3) in the immemorial traditions embedded in the common law and custom of the realm. The difference between this constitution and a written constitution like that of the United States or France lies in its elasticity. Its foundations remain unchanged from age to age; its superstructure may be altered at any moment by a simple act of Parliament—for every act of Parliament passed in proper form is valid, and supersedes all previous conflicting acts. In this manner Great Britain has been enabled to present to the world the spectacle of a nation making the most momentous political changes peaceably and deliberately, by force of public opinion acting upon and through the constitutional agency of Parliament, which thus registers the will of the sovereign people.

TOPICS

- Suggestive topics**
- (1) Show how a bicameral legislature tends to check hasty legislation. (2) Why should archbishops and bishops be entitled to sit in the upper house of Parliament? (3) Why ought not the House of Lords to originate or amend a money bill? (4) Trace the origin of the title of the presiding officer in the House of Lords. (5) Distinguish between the dissolution and the prorogation of Parliament. (6) What are the provisions which compel the use of the Chiltern Hundreds whenever a member of the lower house wishes to vacate his seat, and when were they adopted? (7) Should you approve of having the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the United States hold office without regard to change of

political parties? (8) What is the reason for the stipulation that the king of Great Britain must be a Protestant? (9) What is meant by the statement in section 638, that in 1776 "the Cabinet system proper had temporarily broken down in Great Britain"? (10) Are there any features of the British political system described in this chapter that you should like to see adopted in the United States?

(11) Compare the organization of the British Parliament with that of the bicameral legislature in France, Germany, or the United States. (12) What provision has been made for the ultimate extinction of the representative Irish peerages? (13) Recent successful attempts of the House of Lords to defeat legislation which has passed the House of Commons. (14) Show how the Cabinet system serves to "embody the will of the nation in legislative bills" (§ 636). (15) Why should Louisiana be an exception to the rule that the legal system prevailing throughout the United States is based on the English common law? (16) Describe a typical crown colony, like Hongkong, or Gibraltar. (17) Distinguish between a colony of this type and a colony like Canada. (18) Training for the British diplomatic service. (19) Some striking episodes in the British Parliament during the last half century.

Search topics

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Language and literature

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THE GREAT SEAL OF GREAT BRITAIN.
"Victoria Dei Gratia Britanniarum Regina Fidei Defensor."

APPENDIX A

A BRIEF LIST OF BOOKS

(These books, costing about \$25.00 if purchased on a single order, are recommended for use when those included in the general bibliography are inaccessible.)

I. GEOGRAPHY

- S. R. Gardiner, *School Atlas of English History*. Longmans.
\$1.50. Or,
Reich, *A New Atlas of English History*. Macmillan. \$3.25.

II. GENERAL HISTORIES

- J. F. Bright, *History of England*. 5 vols. Longmans. \$7.25. Secondary authorities
S. R. Gardiner, *Student's History of England*. (Illustrated.)
Longmans. \$3.00. Or,
Cyril Ransome, *Advanced History of England*. Macmillan.
\$2.25.
J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People*. Am. Book
Co. \$1.20.
C. W. Colby, *Selections from the Sources of English History*. Sources
Longmans. \$1.50.
E. K. Kendall, *Source-Book of English History*. Macmillan.
\$0.80.

III. HISTORIES COVERING LIMITED PERIODS

- E. A. Freeman, *William the Conqueror*. Macmillan. \$0.75.
W. Stubbs, *The Early Plantagenets*. Longmans. \$1.00.
Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry II*. Macmillan. \$0.75.
J. Gairdner, *The Houses of Lancaster and York*. Longmans.
\$1.00.
M. Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth*. Longmans. \$1.00.
S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*. Longmans. \$1.00.
H. D. Traill, *William III*. Macmillan. \$0.75.
J. Morley, *Robert Walpole*. Macmillan. \$0.75.
W. D. Green, *William Pitt*. Macmillan. \$0.75.
C. W. Oman, *England in the Nineteenth Century*. Longmans.
\$1.25.

APPENDIX A**Secondary authorities****IV. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY**

- F. C. Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History* (chronological). Longmans. \$1.25. Or,
H. S. Feilden, *A Short Constitutional History of England* (topical). Ginn. \$1.25.
Edw. Jenks, *Outlines of English Local Government*. Methuen.
2s. 6d.
G. B. Adams and H. M. Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*. Macmillan. \$2.25.

Sources**V. INDUSTRIAL HISTORY**

- H. de B. Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*. Scribners.
\$1.20. Or,
E. P. Cheyney, *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*. Macmillan. \$1.40.

VI. MANUAL

- Acland and Ransome, *Handbook of English Political History*.
Rivington. \$2.00.
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- American Book Company (Eclectic Map Blanks). N.Y.
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D. C. Heath and Co. Boston.
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II. ILLUSTRATIONS

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(Titles marked with an asterisk (*) denote books especially desirable for a school library, besides those mentioned in the Brief List.)

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- Airy, *The English Revolution and Louis XIV*. N.Y.
- American Historical Association (McLaughlin and others), *Report on the Study of History in Schools*. N.Y.
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (see "Giles").
- Arblay, *Madame Frances (Burney) d'*, *Diary and Letters*. 4 vols. N.Y.
- Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*. 2 pts. Lond.
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APPENDIX C

PARAPHRASE OF THE CORONATION OATH OF. WILLIAM I. (DEC. 25, 1066)

(Quoted by Florence of Worcester)

"To protect the holy churches of God and their governors, and to rule the whole nation subject to [him] with justice and kingly providence; to make and maintain just laws, and straitly to forbid every sort of rapine, violence, and all unrighteous judgments."

APPENDIX D

EXCERPTS FROM THE "CHARTER OF LIBERTIES" OF HENRY I. (1001 A.D.)

(For the extended text, see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 7.)

1. . . . I, from regard to God, and from the love which I have toward you, in the first place make the holy church of God free, so that I will neither sell nor place at rent, nor, when archbishop, or bishop, or abbot is dead, will I take anything from the domain of the church, or from its men, until a successor is installed into it. And all the evil customs by which the realm of England was unjustly oppressed will I take away, which evil customs I partly set down here.

2. If any one of my barons, or earls, or others who hold from me shall have died, his heir shall not redeem his land as he did in the time of my brother, but shall relieve it by a just and legitimate relief. Similarly also the men of my barons shall relieve their lands from their lords by a just and legitimate relief.

3. And if any one of the barons or other men of mine wishes to give his daughter in marriage, or his sister or niece or relation, he must speak with me about it, but I will neither take anything from him for this permission, nor forbid him to give her in marriage, unless he should wish to join her to my enemy. And if when a baron or other man of mine is dead, a daughter remains as his heir, I will give her in marriage according to the judgment of my barons, along with her land. . . .

* * * * *

5. The common tax on money which used to be taken through the cities and counties, which was not taken in the time of King Edward, I now forbid altogether henceforth to be taken. . . .

APPENDICES E, F

9. All murders moreover . . . which shall be done henceforth shall be punished justly according to the law of King Edward.

10. The forests, by the common agreement of my barons, I have retained in my own hand, as my father held them. . . .

* * * * *

12. A firm peace in my whole kingdom I establish and require to be kept from henceforth.

13. The law of King Edward I give to you again with those changes with which my father changed it by the counsel of his barons.

* * * * *

APPENDIX E

EXCERPTS FROM A CHARTER OF HENRY I. TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON

(For the extended text, see Allen's *History and Antiquities of London*, I. 53.)

* * * * *

. . . I have granted to my citizens of London, to hold Middlesex to farm for three hundred pounds, upon accompt to them and their heirs; so that the said citizens shall place as sheriff whom they will of themselves; and shall place whomsoever, or such a one as they will of themselves, for keeping of the pleas of the crown, and of the pleadings of the same, and none other shall be justice over the same men of London; and the citizens of London shall not plead without the walls of London for any plea. And be they free from scot and lot, and danegeld, and of all murder, and none of them shall wage battle. . . . and none shall lodge within the walls, neither of my household, nor any other, nor lodging delivered by force.

And all the men of London shall be quit and free, and all their goods, throughout England, and the ports of the sea, of and from all toll and . . . all other customs. . . .

APPENDIX F

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENCE (1164 A.D.)

(For the extended text, see Gee and Hardy, *Documents of English Church History*, no. xxiii.)

* * * * *

3. Clerks cited and accused of any matter shall, when summoned by the king's justice, come into his own court to answer there concerning what it shall seem to the king's court should be answered there, and in the church court for what it shall seem should be answered there. . . .

APPENDIX G

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4. Archbishops, bishops, and persons of the realm are not allowed to leave the kingdom without licence of the lord the king. . . .

* * * * *

7. No one who holds of the king in chief, and none of his demesne officers are to be excommunicated, nor the lands of any one of them to be put under an interdict unless first the lord the king, if he be in the country, or his justiciar if he be outside the kingdom, be applied to, in order that he may do right for him; and so that what shall appertain to the royal court be concluded there, and that what shall belong to the church court be sent to the same to be treated there.

* * * * *

11. Archbishops, bishops, and all persons of the realm who hold of the king in chief, have their possessions from the lord the king as barony, and are answerable therefor to the king's justices and ministers, and follow and do all royal rights and customs, and like all other barons, have to be present at the trials of the court of the lord the king with the barons until it comes to a judgment of loss of limb, or death.

* * * * *

13. If any of the nobles of the realm forcibly prevent the archbishop or bishop or archdeacon from doing justice in regard of himself or his people, the lord the king must bring them to justice. And if perchance any one should deforce the lord the king, the archbishops and bishops and archdeacons must judge him, so that he gives satisfaction to the lord the king.

* * * * *

16. Sons of villeins ought not to be ordained without the assent of the lord on whose land they are known to have been born.

APPENDIX G

EXCERPTS FROM THE MAGNA CHARTA OF KING JOHN (JUNE 15, 1215)

(For the extended text, see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, no. 29.)

1. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed, for us and our heirs forever, that the English church shall be free, and shall hold its rights entire and its liberties uninjured. . . .

We have granted moreover to all free men of our kingdom for us and our heirs forever all the liberties written below, to be had and holden by themselves and their heirs from us and our heirs.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding from us in chief by military service shall have died, and when he has died his heir shall be of full age and owe relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief.

If moreover the heir of any one of such shall be under age, and shall be in

wardship, when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without a fine.

* * * * *

Neither we nor our bailiffs will seise any land or rent, for any debt, so long as the chattels of the debtor are sufficient for the payment of the debt.

* * * * *

12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom except by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter; and for these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid. . . .

13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water. Moreover, we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs and villages and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. And for holding a common council of the kingdom concerning the assessment of an aid otherwise than in the three cases mentioned above, or concerning the assessment of a scutage, we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons by our letters under seal; and besides we shall cause to be summoned generally, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold from us in chief, for a certain day . . . and for a certain place; and in all the letters of that summons we will express the cause of the summons . . .

15. We will not grant to any one, moreover, that he shall take an aid from his free men, except for ransoming his body, for making his oldest son a knight, and for once marrying his oldest daughter; and for these purposes only a reasonable aid shall be taken.

16. No one shall be compelled to perform any greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement than is owed from it.

17. The common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some certain place.

* * * * *

20. A free man shall not be fined for a small offense, except in proportion to the measure of the offense; and for a great offense he shall be fined in proportion to the magnitude of the offense, saving his freehold; and a merchant in the same way, saving his merchandise; and the villain shall be fined in the same way, saving his wainage, if he shall be at our mercy; and none of the above fines shall be imposed except by the oaths of honest men of the neighborhood.

21. Earls and barons shall only be fined by their peers, and only in proportion to their offense.

* * * * *

39. No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay right or justice.

41. All merchants shall be safe and secure in going out from England and coming into England and in remaining and going through England, as well

by land as by water, for buying and selling, free from all evil tolls, by the ancient and rightful customs, except in time of war, and if they are of a land at war with us; and if such are found in our land at the beginning of war, they shall be attached without injury to their bodies or goods, until it shall be known from us or from our principal justiciar in what way the merchants of our land are treated who shall be then found in the country which is at war with us; and if ours are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

* * * * *

61. Since, moreover, for the sake of God, and for the improvement of our kingdom, and for the better quieting of the hostility sprung up lately between us and our barons, we have made all these concessions; wishing them to enjoy these in a complete and firm stability forever, we make and concede to them the security described below; that is to say, that they shall elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whom they will, who ought with all their power to observe, hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have conceded to them, and by this our present charter confirmed to them; in this manner, that if we or our justiciar, or our bailiffs, or any one of our servants shall have done wrong in any way toward any one, or shall have transgressed any of the articles of peace or security; and the wrong shall have been shown to four barons of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, let those four barons come to us or to our justiciar, if we are out of the kingdom, laying before us the transgression, and let them ask that we cause that transgression to be corrected without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression or, if we shall be out of the kingdom, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it within a period of forty days, counting from the time in which it has been shown to us or to our justiciar, if we are out of the kingdom; the aforesaid four barons shall refer the matter to the remainder of the twenty-five barons, and let these twenty-five barons with the whole community of the country distress and injure us in every way they can; that is to say by the seizure of our castles, lands, possessions, and in such other ways as they can until it shall have been corrected according to their judgment, saving our person and that of our queen and those of our children; and when the correction has been made, let them devote themselves to us as they did before. . . .

* * * * *

APPENDIX H

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONFIRMATIO CARTARUM OF EDWARD I. (1297)

(For the extended text, see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, no. 48.)

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Guyenne, to all those that these present letters shall hear or see, Greeting.

1. Know ye that we to the honor of God, and of holy Church, and to the

profit of our realm, have granted for us and our heirs, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of the Forest, which were made by common assent of all the realm, in the time of king Henry our father, shall be kept in every point without breach. . . .

* * * * *

5. And for so much as divers people of our realm are in fear, that the aids and tasks which they have given to us beforetime towards our wars and other business, of their own grant and good will, howsoever they were made, might turn to a bondage to them and their heirs, because they might be at another time found in the rolls, and so likewise the prises taken throughout the realm by our ministers in our name; we have granted for us and our heirs, that we shall not draw such aids, tasks, nor prises into a custom, for any thing that hath been done heretofore, or that may be found by roll or in any other manner.

6. Moreover we have granted for us and our heirs as well to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other folk of holy Church, as also to earls, barons, and to all the commonalty of the land, that for no business from henceforth we shall take of our realm such manner of aids, tasks, nor prises, but by the common assent of all the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed.

And for so much as the more part of the commonalty of the realm find themselves sore grieved with the maletote of wools, that is to wit, a toll of forty shillings for every sack of wool, and have made petition to us to release the same; we at their requests have clearly released it, and have granted that we will not take such thing nor any other without their common assent and good will; saving to us and our heirs the custom of wools, skins, and leather, granted before by the commonalty aforesaid. . . .

* * * * *

APPENDIX I

EXCERPTS FROM THE SECOND STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE, OF RICHARD II. (1393)

(For the extended text, see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, no. 98.)

* * * * *

ITEM, whereas the commons of the realm in this present parliament have showed to our redoubted lord the king, grievously complaining, that whereas the said our lord the king, and all his liege people, ought of right, and of old time were wont to sue in the king's court, to recover their presentments to churches, prebends, and other benefices of holy Church . . . ; and when judgment shall be given in the same court upon such a plea and suit, the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual persons which have institution of such

APPENDIX J

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benefices within their jurisdiction, be bound, and have made execution of such judgments by the king's commandments of all the time aforesaid without interruption . . . but now of late divers processes be made by the holy father the pope and censures of excommunication upon certain bishops of England, because they have made execution of such commandments, to the open disherison of the said crown, and destruction of the regalty of our said lord the king, his law, and all his realm, if remedy be not provided: and also it is said, and a common clamor is made, that the said father the pope hath ordained and purposed to translate some prelates of the same realm, some out of the realm, and some from one bishopric into another within the same realm, without the king's assent and knowledge . . . :—*our said lord the king, by the assent aforesaid, and at the request of his said commons, hath ordained and established*, that if any purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any such translations, processes, and sentences of excommunications, bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the king our lord, against him, his crown, and his regalty, or his realm, as is aforesaid, and they which bring them within the realm, or them receive, or make thereof notification or any other execution whatsoever within the same realm or without, that they, their notaries, procurators, maintainors, abettors, fautors, and counsellors, shall be put out of the king's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeit to our lord the king; and that they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the king and his council, there to answer to the cases aforesaid, or that process be made against them by *præmunire facias* . . .

APPENDIX J

EXCERPT FROM THE ACT OF SUPREMACY OF HENRY VIII. (1534)

(For the extended text, see Gee and Hardy, *Documents of Church History*, no. lv.)

Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: *be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament*, that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, preëmiciencies, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and com-

modities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining.

APPENDIX K

EXCERPTS FROM THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY OF ELIZABETH (1559)

(For the extended text, see Gee and Hardy, *Documents of Church History*, no. lxxx.)

III. And further be it enacted by the queen's highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the same, or other the queen's dominions, shall from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming be bounden to say and use the Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper and administration of each of the sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward VI, with one alteration or addition, of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.

XIV. And that from and after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm, or any other the queen's majesty's dominions, shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place where common prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God there to be used and ministered; upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve pence, to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands, and tenements of such offender, by way of distress.

APPENDIX L

EXCERPTS FROM THE PETITION OF RIGHT (1628)

(See Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, no. 189.)

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty :—

Humbly show unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward the First, commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the King or his heirs in this realm, without the goodwill and assent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonality of this realm: and by authority of Parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the King against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition, called a Benevolence, nor by such like charge: by which, the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in Parliament:

Yet nevertheless, of late diverse commissions directed to sundry Commissioners in several counties with instructions have issued, by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your Privy Council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Commissioners for Musters, Justices of Peace and others, by command or direction from your Majesty or your Privy Council, against the laws and free customs of this realm:

And where also by the statute called, 'The Great Charter of the Liberties of England,' it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his freeholds or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled; or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land:

And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law:

Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed, and when for their deliverance they were brought before your Justices, by your Majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the Court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer; no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your Majesty's special command, signified by the Lords of your Privy Council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law:

And *whereas* of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people:

And *whereas* also by authority of Parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter, and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death, but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm or by Acts of Parliament: and *whereas* no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless of late time divers commissions under your Majesty's Great Seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed Commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land according to the justice of martial law against such soldiers or mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order, as is agreeable to martial law, and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial:

By pretext whereof, some of your Majesty's subjects have been by some of the said Commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been, judged and executed:

And also sundry grievous offenders by colour thereof, claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused, or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid, which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm:

They do therefore humbly pray your Most Excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax,

or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

All which they most humbly pray of your Most Excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty and the prosperity of this kingdom.

[On June 2, the King replied to the Commons as follows:]

"The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as well obliged as of his prerogative."

[The Commons having shown their strong dissatisfaction with this answer, the King in their presence tore the words from the petition, and ordered the usual formula of royal assent to be appended to it, as follows:

"*Soit droit fait comme il est desire.*"]

APPENDIX M

EXCERPTS FROM THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT OF CHARLES II. (1679)

(For the original text, see Hill, *Liberty Documents*, Appendix C.)

An Act for the better securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for Prevention of Imprisonments beyond the Seas.

Whereas great delays have been used by sheriffs, gaolers, and other officers, to whose custody any of the king's subjects have been committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, in making returns of writs of *Habeas Corpus* to them directed, . . . whereby many of the king's subjects have been

APPENDIX M

and hereafter may be long detained in prison, in such cases where by law they are bailable, to their great charges and vexation:

For the prevention whereof, and the more speedy relief of all persons imprisoned for any such criminal or supposed criminal matters, *be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority thereof,* that whosoever any person or persons shall bring any *Habeas Corpus* directed unto any sheriff or sheriffs, gaoler, minister, or other person whatsoever, for any person in his or their custody, and the said writ shall be served upon the said officer, . . . the said officer . . . shall within three days after the service thereof as aforesaid . . . make return of such writ; and bring or cause to be brought the body of the party so committed or restrained, unto or before the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the great seal of England for the time being, or the judges or barons of the said court from whence the said writ shall issue . . . ; and shall then likewise certify the true causes of his detainer or imprisonment.

* * * * *

And *be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* that if any officer or officers . . . shall neglect or refuse to make the returns aforesaid, or to bring the body or bodies of the prisoner or prisoners according to the command of the said writ, within the respective times aforesaid, or upon demand made by the prisoner or person in his behalf shall refuse to deliver, or within the space of six hours after demand shall not deliver, to the person so demanding, a true copy of the warrant or warrants of commitment and detainer of such prisoner, which he and they are hereby required to deliver accordingly; all and every the head gaolers and keepers of such prisons, and such other person in whose custody the prisoner shall be detained, shall for the first offence, forfeit to the prisoner or party grieved the sum of one hundred pounds; and for the second offence the sum of two hundred pounds, and shall and is hereby made incapable to hold or execute his said office. . . .

And for the prevention of unjust vexation by reiterated commitments for the same offence, *be it enacted by the authority aforesaid,* that no person or persons which shall be delivered or set at large upon any *Habeas Corpus* shall at any time hereafter be again imprisoned or committed for the same offence by any person or persons whatsoever, other than by the legal order and process of such court wherein he or they shall be bound by recognizance to appear, or other court having jurisdiction of the cause. . . .

* * * * *

And for preventing illegal imprisonments in prisons beyond the seas, *be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* that no subject of this realm that now is, or hereafter shall be, an inhabitant or resident of this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, shall or may be sent prisoner into Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, Tangier, or into parts, garrisons, islands or places beyond the seas, which are or at any time hereafter shall be within or without the dominions of his Majesty, his heirs or successors; and that every such imprisonment is hereby enacted and adjudged to be illegal. . . .

APPENDIX N

EXCERPTS FROM THE BILL OF RIGHTS (1689)

(For the extended text, see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, no. 239.)

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did, upon the thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following ; viz:—

Whereas the late King James II., by the assistance of diverse evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom :—

1. *By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.*
2. *By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the same assumed power.*
3. *By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.*
4. *By laying money for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.*
5. *By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.*
6. *By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.*
7. *By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.*
8. *By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament; and by diverse other arbitrary and illegal courses.*
9. *And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly diverse jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.*
10. *And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.*
11. *And excessive fines have been imposed.*
12. *And illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.*
13. *And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.*

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm :—

And whereas the said late King James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and diverse principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,

being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters, elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon *the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons*, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, *do in the first place* (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), *for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare*: —

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.
2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.
3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.
4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.
5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.
6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.
7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.
8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.
9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.
10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.
12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.
13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: —

Now in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said declaration and the articles, clauses, matters, and things

therein contained by the force of a law made in due form by authority of parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, That all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be; and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration. . . .

* * * * *

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a Papist, *the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted,* That all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

* * * * *

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Diacritic marks: à as in *late*; å as in *fat*; å as in *last*; ã as in *fall*; e, eh as in *cask*, *chaem*; ç as in *ice*; ð as in *me*; ð as in *met*, *berry*; œ as in *veil*; ē as in *term*; g as in *gem*; g as in *go*; i as in *ice*; i as in *tin*; i as in *police*; x, German ch; n, the French nasal: ò as in *note*; ò as in *not*; ò as in *son*; ò as in *for*; ò as in *do*; ò as in *wolf*; ñ as in *neice*; ñ as in *the*; û as in *tune*; û as in *nul*; ù as in *rude* (= ò); ù as in *full*; û=French u; ý as in *my*; ý as in *lady*. Single italic letters are silent.

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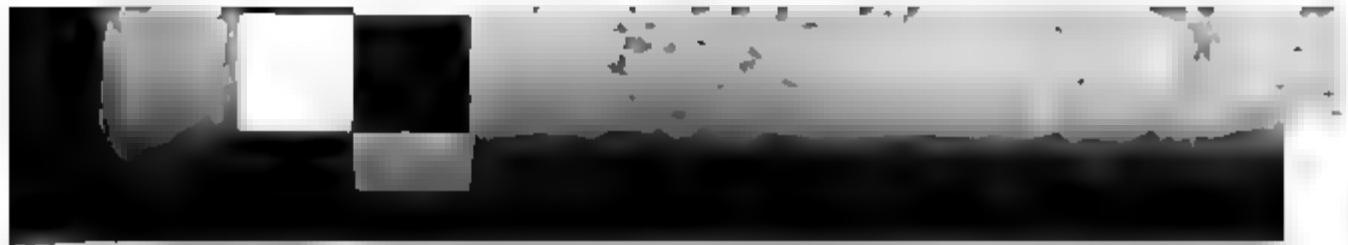
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